

AN INQUIRY INTO
SPANISH ROMAN CATHOLIC PREACHING ON SOCIAL ISSUES

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by
Daniel Chávez

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Daniel Chavez

*under the direction of *him* Faculty Committee,
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requirements for the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Faculty Committee

Ronald E. Osborn
Chairman

Van H. Rhodes

Ignacio Pastern

Hubert Canales

Date *March 28, 1980*

Daniel Chavez

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Henry B. Kuizenga in appreciation for his guidance, encouragement and ready smile at the time of its basic research and preparation.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study has been to investigate Spanish preaching on social issues. Written treatises on Liberation Theology have served only as part of its background material.

Interest on social issues in the Bible comes from remote antiquity. The Fourth and Tenth Commandments show concern for the underprivileged. The Book of the Covenant, the Holiness Code and the Deuteronomic Law both amplify older concepts and present new challenges along these lines. The prophets warned of impending doom because these laws were not obeyed. Political and apocalyptic writings also make reference to these obligations.

The writings from Qumran and the Mishnah indicate little concern for the poor. On the other hand, Philo showed much interest in their lot.

Jesus and the early Christian Church were deeply concerned with their situation. This was strengthened by the manner of His birth and of His death, as well as by His teachings. It was an important element of the Christian message.

Patristic literature generally favored the poor. Even the icons of the churches were sold in order to feed them. Concerning the Middle Ages, one of these sermons considered the deeds of Francis of Assisi to be more significant than the writings of a Kempis. Isabel of Hungary also sacrificed herself for the needy.

Two good compendiums on Spanish preaching have been written during this century. They limit themselves to Catholic preaching in Spain. The complete history of Spanish preaching is still to come.

Each denomination should pursue this in each country.

Another problem is that there are no collections of Protestant sermons in Spanish. This has limited this study to Catholic sermons. More than two thousand sermons in Spanish have been found in different libraries in Southern California. Thirty-two of these were preached on social issues. An additional fourteen were translated from other languages into Spanish.

These thirty-two sermons were preached in six countries. Two of them were preached in the Sixteenth Century. The others in the last two centuries. Eleven persons preached these sermons, two of these were not members of the clergy.

It is not easy to ascertain the effect of preaching on social issues. However, the effectiveness of the first two of these sermons is remarkably clear. They were preached against slavery in Santo Domingo in 1511 by Fr. Antón de Montesinos. He inspired Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas to become the protector of the Indians, as well as the laws of the Indies and Papal pronouncements in their favor. The others have undoubtedly had their influence, particularly on Liberation Theology, but this cannot be noticed so clearly.

The solutions to the problem of poverty in these sermons include almsgiving, Church control of government funds for charity, factories in the hands of the workers and control of agriculture as though it was an industrial enterprise. Alms should be given even from funds necessary to sustain life. Factories should belong to the workers once the original machinery has been replaced. Salaries then must be decent, based on the kind of labor performed and increased according

to the success of the enterprise. Basically the same principles should apply to farms.

May this dissertation develop an interest in social issues and in all aspects of Spanish theoloty and preaching. If this is accomplished, the effort to prepare it has been worth while.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"For you always have the poor with you" (Matt. 26:11),¹ was a statement of Jesus at the feast of Simon in His honor. Four centuries later Augustine testified of the abundance of people called "poor".² The same statement can be made concerning this enlightened age in spite of centuries of nominal Christianity and of humanistic efforts made for the improvement of humanity.

James also indicated that there would be problems between the rich and the poor at the end of the age (James 5:1-6). Could it be that there has been indifference in relation to this problem among Christians because of its inevitability?

I. THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to consider the history of Spanish preaching on social problems. By "social problems" reference is made in this study to the problem of poverty and riches and to the relationship between the two. This means that this study is to consider the available sermons that have been preached in Spanish on these issues. It is also to consider the results of this preaching as far as they may be noticeable.

¹Unless stated otherwise, Biblical quotations are taken from the Revised Standard Version.

²Augustine, *Sermon* 14.1. Amador del Fueyo (tr.), *Obras de San Agustín* (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1957) VII, 786, 787.

II. IMPORTANCE OF THIS STUDY

Liberation Theology is a phenomenon of the church in Latin America. It is a consideration of the historical background of this theology, particularly of its hispanic background.

The Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM) met in Medellín, Colombia, in 1968. This meeting of the Catholic episcopate of Latin America probably represents the pinnacle of Liberation Theology to this date. This investigation into the history of Spanish preaching on social problems is a consideration of the homiletical background of these events.

Liberation Theology is a true Latin American theology.³ This is appropriate. Poverty has been the lot of Latin American life since time immemorial. It is only proper that Liberation Theology would have had its origin under those circumstances. It is necessary to consider the preaching or religious discourses of those that brought about the background that resulted in Liberation Theology. This dissertation is dedicated to the fulfillment of this objective.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THIS STUDY

This study was at first to limit itself to the historical aspects of this problem. However, all preaching is based on the Bible. This made it necessary to present a consideration of the Biblical background to the problem of poverty and riches. Spanish preaching has

³Enrique Dussel, *History and the Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books, 1976), p. 140.

been mainly Catholic preaching throughout the centuries. This is absolutely true in relationship to the sources available for this study. Catholic preaching is greatly indebted to the writings of the fathers. Because of this, a presentation of their position is included. This does not mean that the Biblical and patristic aspects are considered exhaustively. They are considered to such an extent so that they may serve as a basis of the presentation of Spanish preaching on these issues. All of this is considered in the first section of this study. The second section considers the history of Spanish preaching. This is another subject that has not been completely investigated to this date. The last section covers Spanish preaching on social issues.

IV. SOURCES

No single country has complete dominion over Spanish culture. This may be true concerning other cultures, but not to the same extent as it is true in the consideration of Spanish culture. France has cultural dominion over French speaking countries; Germany over German speaking nations and Brazil over Portuguese lands. Even in English, the United States has the greatest influence, in spite of the long tradition of Great Britain and the great size of Australia and Canada. The situation is different in Spanish. Mexico, Spain and Argentina are the most influential countries. However, none of them dominates the other. Chile, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela have their own culture, with little influence from the first three. Even smaller countries prefer to join their neighbors rather than submit to the culture of the larger nations.

The first problem created by this is the problem of influence and national pride. A famous Argentine preacher is virtually unknown in Mexico. Only a really outstanding person gets recognition in all of the Spanish speaking countries of the world.

The second problem is the limited number of copies printed when books are finally printed. It is not unusual to find editions of one thousand books of excellent material. Even these may sell slowly because of the lack of publicity. However, they are eventually sold out, and then they are not available in many parts of the continent.

The third problem is related to the first two. This is that different books are scattered in different libraries throughout all five continents. This study is based on at least 67 collections of sermons found in four libraries in the Los Angeles area. Over 2,000 sermons are found in these books. Caplan and King prepared a Bibliography of Spanish sermons in 1950. They present a list of 134 volumes.⁴ Only four of these were available for this study. Félix Herrero Salgado published his doctoral dissertation in 1971. It consists of a Bibliography of Spanish sermons found in eight libraries in Spain. He presents a list of more than 5,000 sermons.⁵ Very few of these were available for this study. At the same time, many of those listed in the Bibliography of this study are not listed by them.

⁴Harry Caplan and Henry H. King, "Spanish Treatises on Preaching: A Book-list," *Speech Monographs*, 17 (1950), 161-70.

⁵Félix Herrero Salgado, *Aportación Bibliográfica a la Oratoria Sagrada Española* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1971), pp. 29-741.

The final problem is that the history of Spanish preaching has not yet been written. Even when this does happen, it will most likely be the history of Protestant or Catholic preaching in one country. The closest thing to a history of Catholic Preaching in Spanish was written by Miguel Herrero García in 1941. He mentions more than 150 preachers. Only eight of these are not from Spain. Only two of these eight are Peruvians. The other six are Portuguese. Two of these are bilingual. They could preach as effectively in Spanish as in Portuguese.⁶ Félix Herrero Salgado also presents a brief sketch of the history of Spanish preaching in the introduction to his dissertation. He names 51 preachers. Antonio Vieyra is the only one in this list that is not from Spain.⁷

There are other collections of Spanish sermons besides those mentioned above. However, these do not contain more than 10% of sermons that originate in a different continent than that in which the collection was published.

This means that each country must eventually prepare its own history of preaching. Every denomination must do the same within each country. In the mean time, it is fortunate that more than 2,000 sermons in Spanish are available in this area. This inquiry is an investigation of the sermons on social issues found among these sermons.

⁶Miguel Herrero García, ed., *Sermonario Clásico* (Madrid: Escelicer, 1942), pp. ix-lxxxix.

⁷Herrero Salgado, pp. 11-13.

PART I
BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC BACKGROUND
CONCERNING POVERTY

CHAPTER II

POVERTY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Old Testament presents a unique situation. While the Jewish people were independent, they could fulfill God's laws without interference from another civil power. Actually, under the theocracy, God's laws had priority over the laws of the king.

This situation has never existed in the Christian Church. During the first three centuries of its existence it was persecuted by the predominant civil power. When the Emperor became a Christian, the laws of the land predominated in civil and social affairs over the teachings of the Church. Besides this, great segments of the Church did not consider the Old Testament to be normative any more.

This means that the Old Testament presents a situation that has been unequalled ever since that time. It presents what could be considered God's ideal under those circumstances concerning the poor.

This inquiry cannot deal exclusively with this topic. However, that which was taught in the Old Testament was part of the background for Spanish preaching. This is the reason for the consideration of the teachings of the Old Testament concerning the treatment of the poor in this chapter.

I. HEBREW TERMS USED FOR POVERTY AND RICHES

Words Used with Reference to the Poor and the Laborer. Botterweck indicates that the following words are used in the Hebrew Old Testament with reference to the poor. He indicates that these nouns

and their cognates appear the following number of times in the Old Testament: אָנִי, 61; דָּל, 59; חָסֵר, 58; חָסֵר, 6; יָנִי, 135; שָׁךְ, 32.¹

Absolute synonyms do not exist in any language. This means that these six words represent different aspects of poverty. At the same time the existence of these different roots with the meaning of "poor" or "poverty" indicates that there was much poverty in the society of Old Testament times.

Different words are used to define these six Hebrew words. However, Feyerabend uses "poor" or "poverty" as one of the words that defines all six of these terms.² Holladay uses "poor" for five of these terms.³ The only one for which he does not use this English word is חָסֵר. He defines this word as "one who lacks."⁴ This expression naturally means "poor." Holladay's work is based on Koehler and Baumgartner's *Lexicon*. They also use the word "poor" as a definition of the same five words with the same exception. This word is defined as "one in want of,"⁵ which also means "poor."

¹G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, I (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 29.

²Karl Feyerabend, *Langenscheidt Pocket Hebrew Dictionary to the Old Testament* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), pp. 2, 69, 105, 185, 253, 316.

³William L. Holladay, ed., *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), pp. 2, 70, 71, 112, 203, 278, 347.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁵Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, eds., *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, I (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 4, 5, 209, 210, 320, 542, 720, 721, 910.

The word translated "laborer" is שָׂכִיר. This word was not only used with reference to a hired laborer, but also concerning an animal that had been "hired for recompense."⁶ A poor person with a job was in a better position than a poor person that was out of work. However, even the laborer's work was compared to that of an animal.

Poverty Under Spacial Circumstances. The widow, orphan and sojourner were poor because of the circumstances under which they were living. The first two were in a special situation because they belonged to the nation of Israel.

There is no problem concerning the meaning of the Hebrew words for widow (אַחֲמִנָּה) and orphan (יָתוֹם). These terms made reference to persons who "had no financial support from an adult male member" of their families.⁷

A foreigner was generally a poor person. He was considered to be a person that had to live in a foreign land under special circumstances of famine or crop failure. Koehler and Baumgartner define גֵּר as "a man who (for himself or with his people) on account of war, troubles, famine, plague, blood-guiltiness, or other misfortune has been constrained to leave his original place or tribe and seeks shelter and dwelling at another place where he is shortened in the civic rights of real property, marriage and partaking in worship, war and administration of justice."⁸ On the other hand, they define הָרוֹשֵׁב as a "sojourner, inhabitant of a place who is neither עַבְד, nor גֵּר, nor citizen neither."⁹

⁶Ibid., p. 921. ⁷Botterweck and Ringgren, I, 289.

⁸Koehler and Baumgartner, p. 192. ⁹Ibid., p. 1024.

However, Holladay uses "alien" as a definition of both Hebrew words¹⁰ and Langenscheidt uses "foreigner" in the same manner.¹¹ For the purpose of this study they can also be considered to be synonyms.

Slavery, the Extreme Manifestation of Poverty. Slavery was common in Old Testament times. It was not based on race. It could come as a result of captivity in war. Thus, it could be based on nationality. Bankruptcy could be another reason for slavery among the Jewish people. Thus, slavery could be a manifestation of poverty.

Two different words, אִמָּה and פִּנְסָה were used to designate female slaves. Koehler and Baumgartner indicate that the second one was "the lowest maid-servant who pours water over her master's hands."¹² However, they add that this word is "not strictly distinguished from אִמָּה."¹³ This is also indicated by Holladay.¹⁴ A male slave was a עֶבֶד.

The Rich and the Master. The two words used most often with reference to wealth or riches are עָשִׁיר and רִיךְ. The word for master is אֲדֹנָי. This word is used as a translation of the Tetragrammaton in the Septuagint. However, it was used as a divine name "at least five hundred years before the scribes began using it to displace Yahweh."¹⁵

II. LEGISLATION CONCERNING THE POOR AND POVERTY

This study cannot consider all of the teachings of the Old

¹⁰Holladay, pp. 63, 64, 388. ¹¹Langenscheidt, pp. 62, 369.

¹²Koehler and Baumgartner, I, 1002. ¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Holladay, p. 380. ¹⁵Botterweck and Ringgren, I, 72.

Testament on this subject. Because of this, the narratives of the Pentateuch are eliminated. This section is to consider the statements found in the different codices of law. For obvious reasons, those to be considered are the ones that deal with ethical principles. These are 1) the Decalogue (Ex 20:3-17), called by Eissfeldt "the ethical decalogue"¹⁶; 2) the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20:22-23:33); 3) the Holiness Code (Lv 17-26); and 4) the Deuteronomic Law (Dt 1-30).

Brief Historical Considerations. Conservative scholarship accepts that the last three codices mentioned above were redacted in the order presented above in the time of Moses in a span of approximately forty years. Generally they do not question that some of the principles in these codices antedate the time of Moses. Most Liberal scholars also accept the same chronological order. However, they make a span of several centuries between the Book of the Covenant and the Holiness Code.

Conservative scholars call the Book of the Covenant "the oldest extant codification of Hebrew law"¹⁷ and "the starting point of all future civil legislation."¹⁸ Some Liberal scholars agree with this, indicating that "it was compiled ... by Moses or at least in his time."¹⁹

¹⁶Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament, an Introduction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 157.

¹⁷Roland Kenneth Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), p. 582.

¹⁸John E. Steinmueller, *Introducción Especial al Antiguo Testamento* (Buenos Aires: Desclée de Brouwer, 1950), p. 47.

¹⁹Eissfeldt, p. 219.

Liberal scholars are uncertain concerning the date of the Holiness Code. Some would date it in the exilic period. However, it is recognized that it contains some very old material. Eissfeldt and others date it in the reign of Manasseh.²⁰

It is generally accepted by liberal scholarship that the book of Deuteronomy did not effect the Jews until the time of Josiah, and then, not until the time of his reforms, in 621 B.C. However, since the "book of the law" was discovered at that time, the date of its composition is set at fifty or one hundred years before the time of Josiah²¹ which almost coincides with the statement that "Deuteronomy originated between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the seventh century in the Northern Kingdom."²²

For the purposes of this study it is sufficient to accept that these three codices of law came in the chronological sequence presented above. This indicates the possibility of a dependence on the part of the later codices on earlier documents.

The Decalogue. Liberal scholars consider the Decalogue to be Deuteronomistic.²³ Conservative scholars consider it to be "the fundamental law of the Pentateuch ... binding for all times."²⁴ It is unquestionably different from the other three codices of law. Because of this it is considered by itself in this study.

²⁰Ibid., p. 238.

²¹Ibid., p. 232.

²²Otto Kaiser, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1975), p. 124.

²³Ibid., p. 62.

²⁴Steinmueller, p. 47.

It should be noticed that the *sitz im leiben* of the Decalogue was the liberation from "the house of bondage," literally "the house of slaveries" (מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים, Ex 20:2). The Sabbath commandment reminds the children of Israel "that you were a servant," literally "a slave" (עַבְד) "in the land of Egypt, and the Lord your God brought you out thence with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore the Lord your God commanded you to keep the Sabbath day" (Dt 5:15). The reason given for the observance of the Sabbath in the first presentation of the Decalogue is that "in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested the seventh day" (Ex 20:11). This indicates that the same power that was needed for the liberation of the children of Israel from captivity was the power that was needed for the creation of earth. The same is true concerning the liberation from the captivity of sin and the captivity of oppression.

The seventh day Sabbath was to be a day of rest not only for the rich, but also for the poor. It was to be observed by the Jew, by his children, by his "manservant," literally "slave" (עַבְד), by his "maidservant", literally "female slave" (אִמָּה) and by the "sojourner" (גֵּר) within his gates (Ex 20:10; Dt 5:14). It should be noted that it was not common in antiquity for slaves to have a day off every week. It was uncommon even to give them holidays off. Decrees to this effect were issued in Pergamum the year 129 B.C.²⁵ This indicates that it was not common to give them holidays off, much less a day of rest each week. Among the Jews, this comes from remote antiquity.

²⁵Michael I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), p. 1600.

The tenth commandment also mentions slaves. The "manservant" (עַבְדִּי) or "maidservant" (עַמְּהָ) of another person were not to be coveted (Ex 20:17; Dt 5:21).

Other commandments of the Decalogue have a direct relationship to the social problems that are considered in this study. These include the commandments against killing, adultery, stealing and bearing false witness (Ex 20:13-16; Dt 5:17-20).

The Other Codes. Table 1 presents a comparative study concerning different aspects of the problem of poverty. It indicates the parallelism between the three codes. Since the Book of the Covenant is found in Exodus, the Holiness Code in Leviticus and the Deuteronomic Law in Deuteronomy, only chapter and verse are indicated after the Biblical quotations. The Revised Standard Version of the Bible is used in the quotations. When another version is used, this is indicated in parenthesis. Actually, the only other version that is used is the New English Bible. The order of subjects followed in this presentation is roughly the same order followed in the definition of the words that has been presented above.

It is also significant to notice the relationship between these codices and the Decalogue. A quotation from the Book of the Covenant indicates once more the relationship between the seventh day Sabbath commandment and social issues. "Six days you shall do your work, but on the seventh day you shall rest, that your ox and your ass may have rest, and the son of your bondmaid (עַבְדְּךָ וְעַמְּהָ), and the alien (גֵּר), may be refreshed" (Ex 23:12). This indicates a relationship between all four codices.

Table 1

Poverty in Three Old Testament Codes of Law

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
<i>Poverty</i>		
God's Purpose		
		"At the end of every seven years you shall grant a release. ... Every creditor shall release what he has lent to his neighbor ... whatever of yours is with your brother your hand shall release. <i>But there will be no poor among you</i> (אֲבִיּוֹן) ..." (15:1-4). Cf. "There will never be any poor among you ..." (NEB).
Situation in the Land		
		"The poor (אֲבִיּוֹן) will never cease out of the land ..." (15:11).
Hospitality Toward the Poor		
	"If your brother becomes poor (אֲבִיּוֹן) and cannot maintain himself ... you shall maintain him; as a stranger and a sojourner <i>he shall live with you.</i> " (25:35). Cf. "... you shall assist him ..." (NEB).	
Loans		
		"If there is among you a poor man (אֲבִיּוֹן), one of your brethern, ... you shall not harden

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
<p>"If you lend money to any of my people with you who is poor (עני), you shall not be to him as a creditor, and you shall not exact interest from him" (22:25).</p>	<p>"Take no interest from him or increase, but fear your God; that your brother may live beside you. You shall not lend him your money at interest, nor give him your food for profit" (25:36,37).</p>	<p>your heart or shut your hand against your poor brother (אביון), but you shall open your hand to him, and lend him sufficient for his need. ... You shall open wide your hand to your brother, to the needy (עני) and to the poor (אביון), in the land" (15:7,8,11). Cf. "... lend him on pledge as much as he needs" (NEB).</p>
<p>"If ever you take your neighbor's garment in pledge, you shall restore it to him before the sun goes down; for that is his only covering, it is his mantle for his body; in what else shall he sleep? ... If he cries to me, I will hear, for I am compassionate" (22:26).</p>		<p>"When you make your neighbor a loan of any sort, you shall not go into his house to fetch his pledge. You shall stand outside, and the man to whom you make the loan shall bring the pledge out to you. ... If he is a poor man (עני), you shall not sleep in his pledge; when the sun goes down, you shall restore to him the pledge that he may sleep in his cloak and bless you; and it shall be righteousness to you before the Lord your God" (24:10-13).</p>

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
Gifts		
		<p>"Take heed lest there be a base thought in your heart, and you say, 'The seventh year of release is near,' and your eye be hostile to your poor brother (אֶלְיָן), and you give him nothing, and he cry to the Lord against you, and it be sin in you" (15:9).</p>
Trials and Justice		
<p>"... nor shall you be partial to a poor man (לֵוִי) in his suit. "You shall not deprive the poor man (אֶלְיָן) of justice in his suit" (23:3 RSV; 23:6 NEB).</p>	<p>"You shall not pervert justice, either by favouring the poor (לֵוִי) or by subservience to the great" (19:15 NEB).</p>	
Special Privileges in the Time of the Harvest		
	<p>"... you shall not reap your field to its very border, neither shall you gather the gleanings after your harvest. You shall not strip your vineyard bare, neither shall you gather the fallen grapes of your vineyard; you shall leave them for the poor and for the sojourner" (אֶלְיָן) (19:9,10). "When you reap ... you shall not reap your field to its very border, nor shall you gather the gleanings after your harvest; you shall</p>	

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
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leave them for the poor
(עני) and for the stran-
ger (גר)" (23:22).

Special Privileges in the Fields During the Sabbatical Year

"For six years you
shall sow your land
... but the seventh
year you shall let it
rest ... that the poor
(אֲבוֹנִים) of your people
may eat; and what they
leave the wild beasts
may eat. You shall do
likewise with your
vineyard, and with your
olive orchard" (23:10,
11).

Journeyman, Laborers

General Statement Concerning Justice, Daily Remuneration

"You shall not oppress
your neighbor, nor rob
him. You shall not keep
back a hired man's
wages till the next
morning" (19:13 NEB).

"You shall not keep
the wages of a man
who is poor and needy
(שָׂכִיר עֲנִי וְאֲבוֹנִים),
whether a fellow-
countryman or an alien.
... Pay him his wages
on the same day be-
fore sunset, for he is
poor (עני) ... he may
appeal to the Lord a-
gainst you, and you
will be guilty of
sin" (24:14,15 NEB).

A Jew Enslaved by Another Jew Should be Treated as a Journeyman

"If your brother be-
comes poor beside you,
and sells himself to

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
	<p>you, you shall not make him serve as a slave. He shall be with you as a hired servant and as a sojourner. He shall serve ... until the year of the jubilee. Then he shall go out from you, he and his children ... to his own family, and return to the possession of his fathers. For they are my servants, whom I brought ... out of ... Egypt; they shall not be sold as slaves. You shall not rule over him with harshness, but shall fear your God" (25:39-44).</p>	<p>"It shall not seem hard to you, when you let him go free from you; for at half the cost of a hired servant he has served you six years. So the Lord your God will bless you in all that you do" (15:18).</p>

Poverty under Special Circumstances: Widows and Orphans

General Statements Concerning Justice

"You shall not afflict any widow or orphan. If you do afflict them, and they cry out to me, I will surely hear their cry; and my wrath will burn, and I will kill you, ... and your wives shall become widows and your children fatherless" (22:22-24).

"The Lord your God ... executes justice for the fatherless and the widow" (10:17,18).
 "You shall not pervert the justice due to the sojourner or to the fatherless" (24:17).
 "Cursed be he who perverts the justice due to the sojourner, the fatherless and the widow" (27:19).

Garments Should not be Taken as Pledges of Loans to Widows

"You shall not ... take a widow's garment in pledge" (24:17).

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
Special Privileges in the Time of Harvest		
		<p>"When you reap your harvest in your field, and have forgotten a sheaf, ... you shall not go back to get it; it shall be for the sojourner, the fatherless and the widow; that the Lord God may bless you. ... When you beat your olive trees, you shall not go over the boughs again; it shall be for the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow. When you gather the grapes of your vineyard, you shall not glean it afterward; it shall be for the sojourner, the fatherless and the widow" (24:19-24).</p>
Participation in the Joy and in the Festivities of the Feast of Weeks		
		<p>"You shall keep the feast of weeks ... and you shall rejoice before the Lord your God, you and your son and your daughter, your manservant and your maidservant, the Levite, ... the sojourner and the widow ..." (16:10,11).</p>
Participation in the Joy and in the Festivities of the Feast of Booths		
		<p>"You shall keep the feast of booths seven days, ... you shall rejoice in your feast,</p>

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
		you and your son and your daughter, your manservant and your maidservant, the Levite, the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow ..." (16:13, 14).
Participation in Eating of a Special Tithe Every Three Years		
		"At the end of every three years you shall bring forth all the tithe of your produce, ... and the Levite, ... the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow ... shall come and eat ... that the Lord ... may bless you ..." (14:28,29). "When you have finished paying all the tithe of your produce in the third year, ... giving it to the Levite, the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow, that they may eat ... and be filled" (26:12)
Widows Unacceptable as Brides for the High Priest		
	"The priest who is chief among his brethren ... shall take a wife in her virginity. A widow, or one divorced, or a woman who has been defiled, or a harlot, these he shall not marry " (21:10,13,14).	
The Daughter of a Priest as a Widow		
	"If a priest's daughter	

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
	is a widow or divorced, and has no child, and returns to her father's house, ... she may eat of her father's food; yet no outsider shall eat of it" (22:13).	
<i>Poverty Under Special Circumstances: Aliens</i>		
The Jews Themselves were Aliens in Relationship with God		
	"The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine; for you are strangers and sojourners with me" (25:23).	
Their Relationship to the Law of God		
	"You shall keep my sta- tutes and my ordinances and do none of these a- bominations, either the native or the stranger" (18:26).	"At the end of every seven years, ... at the feast of booths, ... As- semble the people, men, women and little ones, and the sojourner ... that they may hear and learn to fear the Lord, ... and ... do all the words of this law, and that their children, who have not known it, may hear and learn to fear the Lord" (31:10-13).
They Should be Loved		
	"The stranger who so- journs with you shall be to you as the native a- mong you, and you shall love him as yourself; ... you were strangers" (19:34).	"Love the sojourner ... for you were sojourners" (10:19).

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
General Statements Concerning Justice		
	"You shall have one law for the sojourner and for the native" (24:22).	"Judge righteously between a man and his brother or the alien that is with him" (1:16). <i>See Widows and Orphans</i> (24:17; 27:19).
They Should not be Oppressed		
"You shall not wrong a stranger or repress him, for you were strangers" (22:21). "You shall not oppress a stranger, for you were strangers" (23:9).	"When a stranger sojourns with you in your land, you shall not do him wrong" (19:33).	
Daily Remuneration		
		<i>See Journeymen, Laborers</i> (24:14,15 NEB).
God Feeds Him		
		"The Lord ... loves the sojourner, giving him food and clothing" (10:17,18).
He Shall not Eat Consecrated Food		
	"An outsider shall not eat of a holy thing. A sojourner of the priest's or a hired servant shall not eat of a holy thing" (22:10).	
Special Privileges in the Time of the Harvest		
	<i>See Poverty</i> (19:9,10; 23:22).	<i>See Widows and Orphans</i> (24:19-24).

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
Special Privileges in the Fields During the Sabbatical Year		
	"The sabbath of the land shall provide food for you, ... and for your male and female slaves and for your hired servant and the sojourner who lives with you; for your cattle ... and for the beasts that are in your land, all its yield shall be for food" (25:6,7).	
Participation in the Joy and in the Festivities of the Feast of Weeks		
	See <i>Widows and Orphans</i> (16:10,11).	
Participation in the Joy and in the Festivities of the Feast of Booths		
	See <i>Widows and Orphans</i> (16:13,14).	
Participation in Eating of a Special Tithe Every Three Years		
	See <i>Widows and Orphans</i> (14:28,29; 26:12).	
Third Generation Edomites and Egyptians Automatically Naturalized		
	"You shall not regard an Edomite as an abomination, for he is your own kin; nor an Egyptian, for you were aliens in his land. The third generation of children born to them may become members of the assembly of the Lord" (23:7,8 NEB).	
A Poor Jew Should be Treated as an Alien		

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
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See *Poverty*, and
Journeymen, Laborers,
(25:35,40).

Debts Could be Collected from Aliens in the Sabbatical Year

"At the end of every seven years you shall grant a release. ... Every creditor shall release what he has lent to his neighbor. He shall not exact it of his neighbor, his brother, ... Of a foreigner you may exact it" (15:1-3).

He was Permitted to Eat some Food Unlawful to the Jews

"You shall not eat anything that dies of itself; you may give it to the alien who is within your towns, that he may eat it, or you may sell it to a foreigner" (14:21).

Slaves were to be Purchased from Alien Nations

"As for your male and female slaves whom you may have; you may buy male and female slaves from among the nations that are round about you. You may also buy from among the strangers who sojourn with you and their families ... who have been born in your land; and they may be your property. You may bequeath them to your sons ... as a

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
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possession for ever;
you may make slaves of
them, but over your
brethren, the people
of Israel, you shall not
rule one over another
with harshness" (25:
44-46).

Redeem the Jew who has become a Slave of an Alien

"If a stranger or so-
journer with you be-
comes rich, and your
brother ... becomes
poor and sells himself
to the stranger or so-
journer ... or to a mem-
ber of the stranger's
family, then after he is
sold he may be redeemed;
one of his brothers may
redeem him" (25:47,48).

Unfaithfulness to God would Result in Jews Becoming Lower than Aliens

"If you will not obey
the voice of the Lord
your God or ... do all
his commandments ...
The sojourner who is a-
mong you shall mount a-
bove you higher and high-
er; and you shall come
lower and lower" (28:
43).

Extreme Poverty: Slavery

God's Purpose for His People was that they would not be Enslaved

"I am the Lord ... who
brought you ... out of
... Egypt, that you

"You shall remember
that you were a slave
in ... Egypt, and the

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
	should not be their slaves; and I have broken the bars of your yoke and made you walk erect" (26:13).	Lord your God redeemed you" (15:15; see also 16:12; 21:7,8; 24:18, 22, etc.).
A Jew Enslaved by Another Jew Should be Treated as a Journeyman		
	See <i>Journeymen, Laborers</i> (25:39-44).	
Redeem the Jew who has Become a Slave of an Alien		
	See <i>Aliens</i> (25:47, 48).	
This Person Could Redeem Himself with the Wages of his Services		
	"He shall reckon with him who bought him from the year when he sold himself to him until the year of jubilee, and the price of his release shall be according to the number of years, ... as the time of a hired servant. If there are still many years, ... he shall refund out of the price paid for him the price of his redemption. If there remain but a few years until the year of jubilee, he shall make a reckoning with him, ... he shall refund the money for his redemption. As a servant hired year by year shall he be with him; he shall not rule with harshness over him in your sight" (25:50-53).	

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
Automatic Liberation		
Sabbatical Year	Year of Jubilee	Sabbatical Year
"When you buy a Hebrew slave, he shall serve six years, and in the seventh he shall go out free, for nothing. If he comes in single, he shall go out single; if he comes in married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master gives him a wife and she bears him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's and he shall go out alone" (21:2-4).	"If your brother becomes poor ... and sells himself to you, ... He shall serve with you until the year of the jubilee; then he shall go out from you, he and his children, ... to his own family, ... to the possession of his fathers. ... You shall not rule over him with harshness, but shall fear your God. ... "If he is not redeemed by these means (see 25:50-53), then he shall be released in the year of jubilee, he and his children. ... For ... the people of Israel ... are my servants whom I brought forth out of ... Egypt" (25:39-41, 43, 54, 55).	"If your brother, a Hebrew man or a Hebrew woman, is sold to you, he shall serve you six years, and in the seventh year you shall let him go free from you. And when you let him go ... you shall not let him go empty-handed; you shall furnish him liberally ... as the Lord ... has blessed you. ... It shall not seem hard to you, when you let him go free ... for at half the cost of a hired servant he has served you six years. So the Lord ... will bless you in all that you do" (15:12-14, 18).
Manner in which the Slave May Remain with his Master		
"But if the slave plainly says, 'I love my master, my wife and my children; I will not go out free,' then his master shall bring him to God, and he shall bring him to the door or the doorpost; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him for life" (21:5, 6).		"But if he says to you, 'I will not go out from you,' because he loves you and your household, since he fares well with you, then you shall take an awl, and thrust it through his ear into the door, and he shall be your bondman for ever. And to your bondwoman you shall do likewise" (15:16, 17).

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
Slaves were to be Purchased from Alien Nations		
See <i>Aliens</i> (25:44-46).		
The Slave who Escaped		
		"You shall not give up to his master a slave who has escaped from his master to you; he shall dwell with you, ... in the place which he shall choose within one of your towns; ... you shall not oppress him (23:15,16).
Special Privileges in the Fields During the Sabbatical Year		
See <i>Aliens</i> (25:6,7).		
Rejoice with his Master in the Presence of God		
		"When you go over the Jordan, ... then to the place which the Lord ... will choose ... you shall bring ... your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and the offering. ... And you shall rejoice before the Lord, ... you and your sons and your daughters, your manservants and your maidservants, and the Levite that is within your towns. ... You may not eat within your towns the tithe ... or any of your ... offerings, ... but you shall eat them before the Lord ... you and your son and your daughter,

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
		your manservant and your maidservant, and the Levite; ... and you shall rejoice before the Lord. ... Take heed that you do not forsake the Levite as long as you live in your land" (12:10-12,17-19).
The Slave was Part of the Family		
		"You shall eat before the Lord ... and you shall rejoice, you and your households" (12:8). This statement belongs to the context of the previous statement.
Participation in the Joy and in the Festivities of the Feast of Weeks		
		See <i>Widows and Orphans</i> (16:10,11).
Participation in the Joy and in the Festivities of the Feast of Booths		
		See <i>Widows and Orphans</i> (16:13,14).
A Slaveowner Should be Punished if he Takes the Life of his Slave		
"When a man strikes his slave, male or female, with a rod and the slave dies under his hand, he shall be punished" (21:20).		
A Freeman Should be Punished if he has a Sexual Affair with a Female Slave Betrothed to Another Man		
	"If a man lies carnally with a woman who is a slave, betrothed to another man and not yet	

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
	ransomed or given her freedom, an inquiry shall be held. They shall not be put to death, because she was not free; but he shall bring a guilt offering for himself to the Lord" (19:20,21).	

A Slaveowner Should not be Punished for Striking a Slave that Survives

"When a man strikes his slave, ... if the slave survives a day or two, he is not to be punished; for the slave is his money" (21:20,21).

A Slave that Looses an Eye or a Tooth when Striken by his Slaveowner is to be set Free

"When a man strikes the eye of his slave, male or female, and destroys it, he shall let the slave go free for the eye's sake. If he knocks out the tooth of his slave, ... he shall let the slave go free" (21:26,27).

A Female Slave that is not Taken as a Wife Shall be Redeemed

"When a man sells his daughter as a slave, she shall not go out as the male slaves do. If she does not please her master, then he shall let her be redeemed; he shall have no right to sell her to a foreign people, since he has dealt

Table 1 (continued)

Book of the Covenant	Holiness Code	Deuteronomic Law
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faithlessly with her"
21:7,8).

Regulations Concerning the Marriage of a Son who has a Female Slave

"If he designates her for his son, he shall deal with her as with a daughter. If he takes another wife to himself, he shall not diminish her food, her clothing or her marital rights. And if he does not do these three things for her, she shall go out for nothing, without payment of money" (21:9-11).

The Son of a Slave Remained as a Slave

"Six days you shall do your work, but on the seventh day you shall rest; that ... the son of your bondmaid ... may be refreshed" (23:12).

Unfaithfulness would mean Renewed Enslavement of God's People

"If you are not careful to do all the words of this law ... the Lord will bring you back in ships to Egypt, a journey which I promised you should never make again; and there you shall offer yourselves for sale to your enemies as male and female slaves, but no man will buy you" (28:58,68).

The teachings of the Pentateuch concerning other social issues could be included in Table 1. These include the carrying of interest and the matter of false weights. However, as far as this study is concerned, Table 1 is sufficient to indicate that the Pentateuch has more than sufficient texts that could serve as a basis for preaching on these problems.

Another situation that should not pass without comment is the relationship between these three codes of law. Carmichael indicates that "one recognized source of the D (Deuteronomic) laws is ... the book of the covenant."²⁶ However, in the categories considered above, it is also true that the book of the covenant is the source for the holiness code as much as it is for the book of Deuteronomy. In these categories, Deuteronomy depends more on Leviticus than on Exodus.

III. THE CODE OF HAMMURABI

Many of the teachings of the Code of Hammurabi antedated the time in which they appeared in written form. They also antedated the time of Moses. They passed by word of mouth from father to son.

Hammurabi. Nabuchadnezzar and Nabopolassar his father erased the memory of Babylon's great personalities before them. Hammurabi was a great military commander, an outstanding administrator, "but his greatest achievement was represented by his code of laws."²⁷ He was

²⁶Calum M. Carmichael, *The Laws of Deuteronomy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 53.

²⁷Jack Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 58.

probably the greatest figure of ancient Babylon. Finegan dates him "at around 1728-1686 B.C.,"²⁸ Thomas at "c. 1792-1750 B.C."²⁹

Similarities with the Mosaic Code. There are many similarities between these two codes of law. The following paragraphs in his code present some of these:³⁰

117. If anyone is sold for service in lieu of debt, they shall work for three years in the house of their purchaser or their dis-trainer. In the fourth year they shall attain their freedom. ...

119. If a debt renders a citizen distrainable, and he sells for money his bondmaid who has borne him children, the master of the bondmaid may repay the sum and redeem his bondmaid.

Differences from the Mosaic Code. One strigind difference is that freedom was attainable in the fourth and not in the seventh year. However, this liberty was not for all kinds of slaves, but only for those of the upper class who had to sell their services to cancel a debt.

In the mean time, the duty to free a person in Babylon is li-mited only to an *awilum*, a member of the highest society. ... This is the typical difference between the society of Babylon and the society of Israel. In Babylon a person finds himself ... in the midst of a society of classes. The man who is protected the most is the *awilum*, the great citizen served by slaves and who has riches which he can pass on as inheritance to his children. Under him is found ... the *muskenum*, who may be rich, but who may not pass his possessions as inheritance to his children. Finally, at the lowest level of this social scale and without any rights si the *wardum*, the slave, who is counted simply as a possession of his master. ...

Israelite legislators, on the other hand, were opposed to the creation of social classes. ... The Israelites had to recognize,

²⁸Ibid., p. 57.

²⁹D. Winton Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), p. 27.

³⁰Ibid., p. 30.

from many reminders found in Deuteronomy, that basically all of them are plebeyans, having all of them escaped from Egypt.³¹

Another striking difference is that the fugitive slave in Babylonian law was returned to his master, or whoever protected him could be punished with death.³² As noted above, the Mosaic Code ordered that the slave who had escaped should be protected (Dt 23:15,16).

IV. POVERTY AND THE WRITINGS AND WORK OF THE PROPHETS

More could be said about social issues in the writings and work of the prophets than that which was said concerning this subject in relationship to the Pentateuch, since this period generally has more historical verification. However, for the purpose of this study it is sufficient to consider the most important applications of their work to the subject at hand.

The Prophets as God's Messengers who Reminded the People of the Message of the Torah. One of the missions of the prophets was to remind the people of former messages of admonition. This included the messages "of the former prophets" (Zech 1:4; 7:7) as well as those of the Pentateuch (Zech 7:12).

This could best be illustrated with the law proclaiming the freedom of slaves every seventh year. Jeremiah reminded his listeners of this law (Jr 34:8,9). At first the people reformed (v 10). However, when they saw that the predicted punishment was not forthcoming, they

³¹C. van Leeuwen, *Le Développement du Sens Social en Israel avant l'ère Chrétienne* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955), pp. 59, 60.

³²Carmichael, p. 186.

forced their slaves to return to their enslavement (v 11). Jeremiah reminded them once more of the law and of their actions (vv 13-16). Finally, he indicated that they would go into captivity as a result of their disobedience. The Pentateuch predicted this punishment for this disobedience (Dt 28:32,63-66).

The same situation is presented in reference to the treatment of the poor. Amos indicated that the leaders of Israel made them lose their cases at the gate (Ex 23:3,6; Lv 19:15 → Am 5:12).

Condemnation of Opposite Action. The Pentateuch indicated "in righteousness you shall judge" (Lv 19:15) referring to the need of impartiality in judging the poor. The prophets indicated that the judges did not even want to hear them at all (Is 10:2,3; Jr 5:28).

The princes did not judge the orphan or the widow (Is 1:23). God indicated that He would be their judge (Dt 10:18). God would surely punish their disobedience.

Direct Relationship of these Principles to the Decalogue. It could be said that these principles stem indirectly from the Decalogue. The prophets go beyond this. Isaiah indicated that unfairness to the poor in justice is the same as robbery (Is 10:2,3).

The Prophets Brought together Isolated Ideas in the Pentateuch. The Codes speak of not oppressing the poor or being unfair to them (Ex 23:3,6; Lv 19:15), or to the orphan and the widow (Dt 10:18) or to the alien and the orphan (Dt 24:17). The prophets brought all of these categories together in one statement (Zc 7:9,10).

Concepts Added by the Prophets, New Applications. The prophets made new applications to the teachings of the Pentateuch. They also added new concepts according to the circumstances.

Amos was the first teacher in Israel's history, if not in the history of humanity, to raise his voice in indignant protest against wealth unjustly acquired. He recognized that riches gained by exploiting the poor and dependent are a deadly menace to society.³³

This statement was made in relation to Amos 8:4-6. Isaiah called this "foolishness" (Is 32:5-7). This probably served as a bridge between the writings of the prophets and Wisdom literature.

It has been noticed that caring and being fair to the poor was considered to be justice. Zechariah adds mercy to these concepts (Zc 7:9,10). This means that the person who practiced these with the poor imitated God. This is similar to the teaching of the New Testament.

The Basis of Fairness. Dealing fairly with the poor should proceed from a manifestation of kindness and mercy to others (Zc 7:9, 10). These were not regulations to be obeyed exclusively according to the letter of the law. They were to be obeyed as a manifestation of love for others. This was also the teaching of the Holiness Code. "You shall not hate your brother in your heart" (Lv 19:16).

V. POVERTY AND SLAVERY AMONG THE GREEKS

While all of this was happening among the Jews, the Greeks were fostering a society of classes in the same way in which the Babylonians had done. "Homer sang the song of the privileged class in society. ...

³³Charles Foster Kent, *The Social Teachings of the Prophets and Jesus* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), p. 45.

Hesiod cries out on behalf of the Greek masses."³⁴ The slaves had no legal status among the Greeks.³⁵ This is in sharp contrast with the Jews, among whom they were candidates to automatic manumission.

VI. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN WISDOM LITERATURE

The last section to find a place in the Jewish Canon was Wisdom Literature. Some consider it to have had less validity than the Law or the Prophets. However, Jesus considered Daniel to be a prophet (Mt 24:15). Peter, according to Luke, considered David to be a patriarch and a prophet (Acts 2:29,30).

The Psalms have many statements on poverty. Many of these were used in Spanish preaching on this subject. These will be considered with the sermons below. The following statement is sufficient for now:

The problem of life's inequalities and human suffering could not be solved by the Psalmists. Many a sufferer trusts and is delivered, but the mystery remains unfathomed (Ps 56, 57, 77).³⁶

VII. SUMMARY

The lot of the Hebrew people was generally a lot of poverty. This is seen in the existence of many synonyms for poverty. Slavery was the extreme form of poverty. There were several reasons for this condition:

According to Siegel and Mendelsohn the following reasons could

³⁴Joseph B. Gittler, *Social Thought Among the Early Greeks* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1941), p. 31.

³⁵Ibid., p. 114.

³⁶Samuel E. Keeble, *The Social Teaching of the Bible* (London: Kelly, 1910), p. 95.

be presented to bring about the condition of slavery: a) captivity, b) a situation of financial misery that brought about the need of free men selling their children or selling themselves, c) condemnation coming as a consequence of a crime.³⁷

The Old Testament deals extensively with the problems of the poor. limitations of space allowed only a fairly extensive study of poverty in three codes of law. The most important conclusion as far as this study is concerned is that there are many texts in the Old Testament that can be used for preaching. Many more would be found if all of the Old Testament were studied in this manner. The Old Testament also has many incidents concerning poverty from which many lessons can be gathered for preaching. These were not even touched in this chapter. The result of the application or lack of application of these principles is very interesting and useful in preaching. From here it must be translated into the personal life of every individual and of society as a whole.

Other nations of antiquity also had legislation concerning poverty. The Code of Hammurabi limits the protection of the poor to former rich persons who became poor. The Greeks advocated a society of classes even more than the Babylonians. The care of the poor among the Jews indicates God's guidance in relationship to His people when compared to the nations that not only surrounded them, but even conquered them.

³⁷van Leeuwen, p. 58.

CHAPTER III

POVERTY IN THE INTER-TESTAMENT PERIOD AND IN JEWISH EXTRA-BIBLICAL LITERATURE

This is a very interesting period of Jewish history. The scope of this study does not allow a complete investigation into the attempts made to solve the problem of poverty at this time. However, it also presents a topic that cannot be completely ignored.

Two interesting aspects manifest themselves in this period. The political situation changed during part of this period. The Jewish people were no longer independent and were not completely free to apply their codices. What would they do? How would they present their laws and customs to a dominant foreign culture?

Many students of the period consider that this was a time in which there was no inspired authority. They were poor. An oppressed nation that participated in many wars in which it struggled to maintain a measure of independence could not be anything else but a poor nation. What would they do with the teachings considered in the former chapter?

This chapter includes Jewish writings until the end of the first century of the Christian era, or writings based on tradition from this period. These came from different political perspectives.

I. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF QUMRAN

The writings of Qumran represent extreme Jewish conservatism. The few statements on poverty found in their writings manifest some very significant insights.

Identification of their Community with the Poor. "The predilection of the Qumranites for poverty was so great that they designated themselves as 'the Poor'."¹ This is noted when they speak of the Wicked Priest who sought "the destruction of the Poor."² They also make reference to "the cities of Judah where he robbed the Poor of their possessions."³ In all of these cases the Hebrew word used is אֲבוֹנִים.⁴ They even call themselves the "Congregation of the Poor"⁵ (אֲבוֹנִים).⁶

It should be noted that in Psalms attributed to David he identified himself as "poor and needy" (אֲבוֹן וְעָנִי, Ps 40:17; 80:1). Amos makes reference to the poor as righteous using parallel expressions: "because they sell the righteous for silver, and the needy (אֲבוֹן) for a pair of shoes" (Am 2:6). Even though the following text uses עָנִי, the fact that it was used as a synonym of אֲבוֹן in Psalms indicates that this word could have been used in this case. "For the Lord comforted his people, and will have compassion on his afflicted (עָנִי)" (Is 49:13). This is the closest the Old Testament comes to identifying the

¹Antonio González Lamadrid, *Los Descubrimientos del Mar Muerto* (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1973), p. 145.

²1 Q p Hab 12:1,6, trans. Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Heritage Press, 1962), p. 232.

³1 Q p Hab 12:10, in *ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.*, comp. in Eduard Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (München: Kosel, 1971), p. 242.

⁵4 Q p Ps 37 2:10, trans. A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Gloucester, MA: Smith, 1973), p. 272.

⁶John M. Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan - V, Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 44.

People of God with the poor. The Essenes called themselves the Congregation of the Poor. According to Luke, Jesus called His followers "poor" (Lk 6:20). A group of Christians called themselves "Ebionites." All of this makes an interesting chain in which poverty is equated with following God.

Acquaintance with the Sabbatical Year and the Year of Jubilees.

The Essenes had a text which has been preserved in fragmentary form in which the function of the Sabbatical year for the poor is explained.⁷ They also called the year of Jubilee "the time of release."⁸ This refers to slavery, which means that this custom was not ignored by them.

Voluntary Poverty upon Entering the Community. The following rule applied only to effective members of the community and not to novitiates.⁹ "And all the volunteers that cling to His truth shall bring all their understanding and powers and possessions into the Community of God."¹⁰ This was also practiced later by Christians (Acts 4:34,35).

II. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE MISHNAH

The *Mishnah* also represents conservative Judaism, the Judaism faced by Jesus and His apostles. This is also the Judaism that was not influenced too much by Hellenism.

⁷1 Q DM 3.1-3, in Dupont-Sommer, p. 308.

⁸1 Q S 10.8, in *ibid.*, p. 98.

⁹González-Lamadrid, p. 145.

¹⁰1 Q S 1.11,12, in Dupont-Sommer, p. 73.

Clear or Apparent Changes or Additions Against the Spirit if not Against the Letter of the Law. Jesus accused the Jews of making void the Word of God for the sake of their tradition (Mt 15:6). Much of this tradition is found in the *Mishnah*. Some of the changes or additions made concerning the problems under consideration in this study are as follows:

1. If a debtor insisted on making his payment in the Sabbatical Year, it should be accepted.¹¹ (Cf. Dt 15:1-3).

2. Because of unwillingness on the part of some to make loans to the poor, Hillel the Elder ordained the *prozbul*. This was a declaration before the court that the rules of the Sabbatical Year did not apply to that loan.¹²

3. It was considered that a person had a right to his daily wages when he laid claim to them. Otherwise, there was no transgression because of their retention. It was also considered that this law (Lv 19:13) only applied to the Jewish laborer, not to the alien.¹³

Poverty. It is interesting to notice that the *Mishnah* does not comment the texts that speak of poverty, except those that are related to the pledge that has been made for a debt (Dt 24:11,17).

If a man lent aught to his fellow he may only exact a pledge from him with the consent of the court, and he may not enter his house to take his pledge. ... If the debtor had two utensils the creditor may take one but must leave the other; and he must give back a pillow during the night-time and a plough during the

¹¹*Shebiith* 10:8, in trans. Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 51.

¹²*Shebiith* 10:3, in *ibid.*

¹³*Baba Metzia* 9:12, in *ibid.*, pp. 363, 364.

day-time; but if the debtor dies the creditor need not restore the pledge to his heirs.

Rabbon Simeon ben Gamaliel says "Even to the debtor himself he need only return the pledge during a space of thirty days, and after thirty days he may sell it with the consent of the court.

A pledge may not be exacted from a widow whether she is poor or rich. ...¹⁴

These traditions favored the rich. The love and kindness of the Old Testament were lost. The only other statement concerning poverty worthy of notice is one in which a comparison is made between the merits of different crafts and their relationship to poverty.¹⁵

Slavery. The kindness and love of the Old Testament are also completely lost here. This is more noticeable with reference to the Canaanite slave, who as a child of the household could not even keep for him self whatever he found in the street.¹⁶ A Hebrew slave could be acquired by being purchased or by a writ because of a debt. A Canaanite could become a slave because of these two reasons and also through usurpation, which is considered to be unlawful use of force.¹⁷ Even the Hebrew slave that bore his ear was automatically free the Year of Jubilee or at the death of his master. However, the Canaanite slave could be freed only through financial arrangements with his master.¹⁸ Many of these methods differed from those of the Pentateuch.

¹⁴*Baba Metzia* 9:13, in *ibid.*, p. 364.

¹⁵*Kiddushin* 4:14, in *ibid.*, p. 329.

¹⁶*Baba Metzia* 1:5, in *ibid.*, p. 348.

¹⁷*Kiddushin* 1:3, in *ibid.*, p. 321.

¹⁸*Kiddushin* 1:2,3, in *ibid.*

III. GREEK TERMS USED FOR POVERTY AND RICHES

The Old Testament was translated into the Greek language before New Testament times. This came in the form of the Septuagint (LXX). For this reason this has been chosen as the place for the consideration of the Greek terms used in relation to the topic of this study.

Words Used with Reference to the Poor and the Laborer. Table 2 presents the relationship between the most common Hebrew and Greek words used for the poor and the laborer.

Table 2

Translation in the LXX of the Hebrew Words for "Poor" and "Laborer"

	אביון	דל	חסר	מסכן	עני	רש	Others freq./words	Total freq./words
ἐνδέης	5		10				4/4	19/ 6
πένης, πενυχρός	30	10		4	18	6	3/2	71/ 7
πτωχεύα, πτωχός	11	23		1	54	9	3/3	101/ 8
ταπεινός	2	5			14	1	22/8	44/12
Others	13	21	48	1	49	16		
Total	61	59	58	6	135	32		

Sources: Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint* (Graz: Akademische Druk, U. Verlagsanstalt, 1954), pp. 469, 1117, 1118, 1239, 1240, 1334; and Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, VI (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 889.

The totals for the Hebrew words are the same as those presented by Botterweck and Ringgren.¹⁹ In some cases they differ from those presented in the Hebrew concordance.²⁰ This may be explained in part by the inclusion or exclusion of the verbal form of the word.

The fact that a Greek word translates different Hebrew words emphasizes the synonymity of both Greek and Hebrew terms. Πτωχεῖα or πτωχός were used more than the other words as a translation of לַי or רָעַל. Πέν ς or πενυχρός were used more as a translation of יָרַע.

Πέν ς is related to πένομαι "to work hard" and to πόνος "hard work." Thus, the basic meaning of the word is "one who having few possessions, must support himself by his industry."²¹ Others may not be as harsh, but still present the same idea defining this word as "one who works for his living, day laborer, poor man."²² Sebastián Yarza uses the word "indigent" in his definition of this term.²³ Thayer indicates the relationship of this word with the Latin *penuria*. "To work for one's living"²⁴ is one of his definitions for the Greek term. *Penuria* is defined as "scarcity," but not necessarily as working for a

¹⁹G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, I (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 29.

²⁰Gerhard Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1958), pp. 12, 13, 362, 515, 834, 1098, 1099, 1334, 1357.

²¹Kittel, VI, 37.

²²Henry George Lidell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 1359.

²³Florencio I. Sebastián Yarza, *Diccionario Griego-Español* (Barcelona: Sopena, 1954), p. 1060.

²⁴Joseph Henry Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (New York: American Book, 1889), p. 499.

living,²⁵ which means that the relationship indicated by Thayer exists, but not all of the facets of the definition of the term in one language passed to the other language.

Πτωχός is a "poor, miserable, begging, impotent"²⁶ person. He is one step below the πένης in that he must depend completely on others for his support.

The ἐνδείς is a person that is "wanting or lacking, in need of, ... in want, ... inferior, ... inadequate, insufficient, ... defective."²⁷ One of the reasons for this situation is that this person is "poorly instructed."²⁸ This would make him "incapable, imperfect."²⁹

Ταπεινός indicates a person "of low position, poor, lowly, undistinguished."³⁰

It has been noticed above that πένης was used with reference to a person who had to work for a living. It is interesting to notice that it was never used as a translation of שכיר. This word was translated as μισθωτός,³¹ which is defined as "taken or hired for a salary, ... mercenary soldier."³²

²⁵Agustín Blázquez Fraile, *Diccionario Latino-Español* (Barcelona: Sopena, 1954), p. 829.

²⁶Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 261.

²⁷Lidell and Scott, p. 558. ²⁸Bauer, p. 261.

²⁹Sebastián Yarza, p. 470. ³⁰Bauer, p. 811.

³¹Hatch and Redpath, pp. 930, 1117, 1239.

³²José María Pabón S. de Urbina and Eustaquio Echauri Martínez, *Diccionario Griego-Español* (Barcelona: Spes, 1959), p. 340.

One of the uncommon words has an interesting insight into the meaning of poverty. This is a participial form of ἀπελπίζω, used at least once as a translation of יָיָא (Is 29:19). This word means "to lose hope."³³ This is the psychological situation of the poor.

Poverty Under Special Circumstances. The word "orphan" comes from the Greek ὀρφανός.³⁴ The word for widow is χήρα.

A very interesting situation presents itself in relation to the words translated "foreigner" in the Septuagint. Table 3 indicates the relationship between the Greek and the Hebrew terms with this meaning.

Table 3

Translation in the LXX of the Hebrew Words for "Foreigner"

	גַּל	גֵּר	Others frequency	Total / words
ξένος	1		7/3	8/4
παρεπύδημος		2		2/1
πάροικος	12	10	2/2	24/4
προσήλυτος	73			73/1
Others	5	2		
Total	91	14		

Sources: Hatch and Redpath, pp. 957, 1068, 1071, 1072, 1216; Lisowsky, pp. 331, 332, 1515.

³³Pabón and Echauri, p. 58.

³⁴Webster's *New World Dictionary of the American Language* (New York: World, 1951), pp. 1034, 1035.

Ξένος means "stranger, alien." It also means "host."³⁵ It is related to hospitality. It could even mean "friend."³⁶ This idea is limited to friends among aliens. It is very close to the teachings of the Old Testament.

Παραπύδημος is defined as "staying for a while in a strange place, ... stranger, exile, sojourner."³⁷ It does not have the connotation of friendship that is found in the previous word.

Πάρουκος describes "one who lives in a place that is not his home."³⁸ The idea of friendship is completely absent in this case.

Προσήλυτος is a word that is best understood in the light of the Judaism of the Graeco-Roman diaspora. It was a term that described a person who became a Jew by circumcision irrespective of his national or social position. Kittel and Friedrich indicate that this term corresponds to *גל* religiously but not sociologically.³⁹ It is interesting to note that both Josephus and Philo avoided using this term as they wrote to the pagan world of their time. Philo even avoided using it at times when he was quoting from the Old Testament. This indicates that it was an unfamiliar word to his pagan readers.⁴⁰

All of this indicates that the Septuagint was biased as far as the use of this term is concerned. The translators could consider the possibility of being kind to the proselyte, but not to strangers in general. This was not the teaching of the Old Testament. As far back

³⁵Bauer, p. 550

³⁶Pabón and Echauri, p. 354.

³⁷Bauer, p. 631.

³⁸Ibid., p. 634.

³⁹Kittel and Friedrich, VI, 730, 731.

⁴⁰Ibid., VI, 731, 732.

as the Book of the Covenant they had been told that it was necessary for them to be kind to strangers because they themselves had also been strangers (Ex 23:9). They certainly had not been proselytes, or at least proselytes of their own will to the religion of Egypt.

Slavery, the Extreme manifestation of Poverty. The most common Greek word for "slave" is δούλος. The female form of this word was used with reference to a female slave. However, other words were also used. These sometimes referred to special aspects of slavery. They included δαδκονος, ολκέτης, παῦς, σῶμα, and ὑπηρέτης. It is amazing to see σῶμα in this list. However, for the Greeks, wherever there was slavery, "human anatomy is set aside, and an alien will takes precedence of one's own."⁴¹

Riches. Wealth was not one of the characteristics of Greek soil. Because of this it could be stated that the "limits between πένεια and πλοῦτος ... vary according to time, status and person."⁴²

IV. POVERTY AND SLAVERY AMONG THE GREEKS OF THIS PERIOD

Slavery Among the Greeks. Ancient Greek history covers many centuries. The situation concerning slavery was not the same all of the time. There were many slaves in Athens and Corinth during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C. These were barbarians that had been captured in war.

The economic situation during the Third Century B.C. was such that many people were free one day and slaves the next. There were

⁴¹Ibid., II, 261

⁴²Ibid., VI, 37.

many poor people. Even rich people became slaves, even though they were not slaves all of their lifetime. The poor did become slaves to perpetuity.

Attica experienced slave revolts between 134 and 133 B.C. and between 104 and 100 B.C. During the childhood of Paul's father many people of Tarsus were sold as slaves in order to pay a debt that the city had with Cassius (43 B.C.).⁴³

Ethics of Slavery. Some of the statements concerning slavery are very unpleasant. Some of these were made by philosophers revered by Western Civilization. The following one comes from Aristotle:

All men that differ as widely as the soul does from the body and the human being from the lower animal (and this is the condition of those whose function is the use of the body and from whom this is the best that is forthcoming) - these are by nature slaves, for whom to be governed by this kind of authority is advantageous. ... He is by nature a slave who is capable of belonging to another (and that is why he does so belong). ...

The usefulness of slaves diverges little from that of animals; bodily service for the necessities of life is forthcoming from both, from slaves and from domestic animals alike. ...

Those who were inferior deserve to be these men's slaves; ... there are cases of people of whom some are freemen and others slaves by nature, and for these slavery is an institution both expedient and just.⁴⁴

More or less at this time Xenophon said the following:

In dealing with slaves, the training thought suitable for wild animals is also a very effective way of teaching obedience; for you will do much with them by filling their bellies with the food they

⁴³Mikhail Ivanovich Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), pp. 97, 202, 208, 756, 1111.

⁴⁴Aristotle, *Politics*, I.2.13-15.

hanker after. Those of an ambitious disposition are also spurred on by praise, some natures being hungry for praise as others for food and drink.⁴⁵

This means that both Aristotle and Xenophon considered slaves to be inferior human beings. They even compared this inferiority with that of the beasts. This is something that later was said by Christians when they spoke about Blacks and Indians. Their source was not the Bible, but revered Greek Philosophy.

Menander was a writer of comedies around this same period. In many instances he included the kidnapping of men, women and children and their sale as slaves.⁴⁶

Sources of Slaves. As noted above, acts of kidnapping in raids of piracy produced slaves. The other two main sources were poverty and war. Sometimes it is considered that poverty had very little to do with slavery during this period. However, it is a well known fact that children were exposed to death among the Greeks. Some of these were kindly picked up by some people to be brought up as slaves.⁴⁷

Egypt was supposed to have fewer slaves than other parts of what had been the Alexandrian Empire. From here comes the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* number 744. This is a letter that Hilarius, a hired hand in Alexandria wrote to Alis his wife in Oxyrhynchus the year 1 B.C. She was pregnant at the time, and Hilarius asked her to expose their child to death if it was a girl. This was a source of slaves in Egypt from the time of Augustus.⁴⁸

⁴⁵Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, xiii.9. ⁴⁶Rostovtzeff, p. 202.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 1111. ⁴⁸Ibid., p. 1547.

Treatment of Slaves. Some slaves worked in small factories, others in the fields or at the residences of their masters. In times of extreme poverty, they could be better off than the poor free persons, since they at least were assured a minimum of food and clothing. When they escaped and were found they were returned to their masters who punished them.⁴⁹ Xenophon considered it good to "starve them, to keep them from immorality; lock them up ... to stop their stealing; clap fetters ... so they can't run away; beat their laziness out with whips."⁵⁰

In some cases slaves had the same holidays that school children enjoyed. In a few cases they could have some educational opportunities and belong to religious associations.⁵¹ It is marvelous that all of the slaves enjoyed all of these privileges among the Israelites from remote antiquity.

V. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE APOCRYPHA OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Historical and Legendary Material. The historical side of the Old Testament was not considered above. However, the Apocrypha do not present a new law, and there were no prophets at this time (1 Mc 3:48; 4:46; 9:27). Their writings are so limited, that it is necessary to consider the historical aspects in order to find out if the social aspects of the ancient laws were still kept by the people of Israel.

Judit was a noble, religious and rich widow. However, this did not prevent her from having a female slave (Jd 8:6-8; 10:5).

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 100, 148, 1149. ⁵⁰Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I.1.16.

⁵¹Rostovtzeff, p. 1111.

Tobias indicates that he fulfilled the law. Every third year he turned in his third tithe in Jerusalem for the benefit of the "orphans, widows and proselytes that lived with the children of Israel (Tb 1:8). It is interesting to notice the use of "proselyte" for "alien" in this quotation from the Jerusalem Bible.

The First book of the Maccabees testifies to the lack of food during the Sabbatical Year (1 Mc 6:53). This means that the feast was being kept at this time. It also indicates that the poor had been able to reap what the land had produced of itself that year.

The spirit of love for the poor is also attested at this time. When the Israelite army was victorious, half of the spoils went to the widows, the orphans and the elderly who also had suffered persecution (2 Mc 8:28,30). Most likely many of these persons had become widows and orphans as a result of the war, and not only as a result of persecution. The important thing is that kindness was manifested under these circumstances.

Wisdom Literature. Space did not permit this type of literature to be considered to its fullest in the Old Testament. The same applies to the Apocrypha. The book of Ecclesiasticus has several sections that deal with poverty (Ecc 3:30-4:10; 7:32-36), others with the joy of giving (18:15-18), hospitality (29:21-28), riches (31:1-11), slaves (33:25-33) and begging (40:28-30). One of the interesting teachings here is that "the giving of alms forgives sins" (3:30). This was brought up later by many Spanish preachers. Concerning slaves, it was the duty of the master to make them work. Otherwise, they had to be punished. This included the clapping of fetters. At

the same time, the recommendation was not to force them, but to be equitable with them and treat them as brothers. It certainly is not easy to find something like this in pagan literature.

VI. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF PHILO

Philo was born around 20 B.C. and died after 40 A.D. He was a Jew of the dispersion who lived at Alexandria. His writings are characterized not only by his allegorization of the Torah and his fusion of Hellenism and Judaism, but as far as this study is concerned by his spirituality and his concern for others. It is interesting that this man, probably one of the most liberal men of antiquity, was also "one of the most spiritually minded of thinkers."⁵²

Customs of the Time. One of the worse customs of his time revealed by Philo is that food was loaned by some "on condition that they receive in return a greater quantity than they gave."⁵³ Speaking of slaves, he indicated that some masters imposed upon them such "severe and scarcely endurable orders, which break down their bodies by violent usage and force the soul to collapse before the body."⁵⁴

Allegories. There are two very significant allegories concerning social issues. Philo considered the Jewish nation to be an orphan of God on earth because its people had to stand alone defending

⁵²F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, *Philo I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. ix, x.

⁵³Philo, *De Virtutibus*, 86.

⁵⁴Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus*, ii. 20.

such lofty ethical principles as those found in the laws that He had given them.⁵⁵

The other allegory is that Philo compared several aspects of poverty and even slavery to the mind.⁵⁶ He indicated that whoever thought of himself as possessing his mind, he was as the slave whose ear had been pierced by his master.⁵⁷ This makes such a person a slave of masters from whom there is no escape. However, if he escapes and abandons them, there is a Master who deeply loves His slaves. He will welcome such an escaped slave, and will not permit him to return to his former masters.⁵⁸

Spiritual Lessons in Philo's Presentations of Social Problems.

This is his most significant contribution to the problem under consideration. He really presented his love for God and mankind when he wrote about these issues. God was very dear to Philo. He considered himself to be "redeemed into freedom by God, who broke asunder the miseries of its slavery."⁵⁹ Because of this he considered God's laws not to be a burden but a blessing. He spoke of "security through the humaneness of the law"⁶⁰ and of "laws charged with such kindly feeling."⁶¹

⁵⁵Ibid., iv, 179

⁵⁶Philo, *De Migratione Abrahami*, 32; *De Cherubim*, 122, 124.

⁵⁷Philo, *De Cherubim* 72, 73; *Legum Allegoriae*, iii, 198, 199.

⁵⁸Philo, *Legum Allegoriae*, iii, 194.

⁵⁹Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis*, 124.

⁶⁰Philo, *De Virtutibus*, 28.

⁶¹Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus*, ii, 107.

In a time of slaves and emperors Philo indicated that all men enjoy equal honor and equal rights. However, all are aliens with God while He alone is the true citizen. He also indicates that only God owns all things. These belong to men only as a loan.⁶² He goes as far as to say that "it is against religion to have anything that is God's property registered under other masters."⁶³

Since everything belongs to God, man has no right to charge interest on what he loans to others. This teaches him the greatest virtues of life. One virtue by itself is worth more than all the wealth in the world.

With the capital in place of the interest which they determine not to accept they receive a further bonus of the fairest and most precious things that human life has to give, mercy, neighbourliness, charity, magnanimity, a good report and good fame. ... Even the Great King will appear as the poorest of men if compared with a single virtue.⁶⁴

Philo indicated that the cancellation of debts in the Sabbatical Year, besides being a blessing to the poor was also a blessing to the rich because it was a challenge to them to prove their humanitarianism. Actually, in helping others in time of need, they could expect the same treatment when disaster struck them.⁶⁵

Several times Philo indicates that gathering that year from the fields was as though they gathered their own harvest. This was "to redress their privation and to make them partners, not only in the

⁶²Philo, *De Cherubim*, 108, 109, 120, 121.

⁶³Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus*, ii, 113.

⁶⁴Philo, *De Virtutibus*, 83-85.

⁶⁵Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus* ii, 71.

fruits, but to all appearances in the estates also."⁶⁶ It also "took from them any appearance of humiliation or possibility of being reproached as beggars."⁶⁷

To leave the land fallow that year was also good for the rich. It prepared them "to bear privations calmly and by the lesson of magnanimity thus learned voluntarily and deliberately to let even undoubted sources of wealth fall almost from their very hands."⁶⁸

The following of the reapers by the poor was also a blessing to the rich:

In this way he makes the well-to-do high-minded and liberal by sacrificing something of their own property instead of casting greedy eyes on the whole crop. ... At the same time he gives fresh courage to the poor, for since they themselves own no landed property he permits them to enter the estates of their fellow-countrymen and reap a harvest from what is still left as if it were their own.⁶⁹

The reason for all of this was that it was "unjust that some persons should labor and others have the produce." After all, "the free gifts which come from God alone should come full and complete anticipating the wants of the needy."⁷⁰

Naturally, it was a blessing to the laborer to receive his wages daily. Philo considered such a person as one that had to toil like a beast of burden and "lived from day to day." "If he does not get it, his nervous system is unstrung by his sorrow and renders him incapable

⁶⁶Philo, *De Virtutibus*, 91.

⁶⁷Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus*, ii, 107.

⁶⁸Ibid., ii, 88.

⁶⁹Philo, *De Virtutibus*, 90.

⁷⁰Ibid., 97, 98.

to meet the routine of his task."⁷¹ It was only proper that he receive his recompense at the time when he was leaving for home.⁷²

"Strangers" are called "incomers" by the translators of Philo. They should be loved "not only as friends and kinfolks but as themselves, both in body and soul."⁷³

Philo did not agree with the Greek philosophers on slavery. He did not accept that anyone could be a slave by nature.⁷⁴ He also considered it a duty to protect the slave that had escaped from his master.

It is a sacrilegious act to surrender a suppliant and the slave is a suppliant who has fled to your hearth as to a temple, where he has the right to obtain sanctuary and... may... some to an honest... agreement. ... If that is not possible, (he) may be sold as a last resort.⁷⁵

This was Philo's interpretation of the laws of Moses. It must also be considered that he was not poor, or revolutionary, but rich.

VII. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS

Flavius Josephus was born in Jerusalem the year 37 of our era and died after the year 93. He was a man of arms and the greatest historian of the diaspora.⁷⁶ As such, he did not have much to say about the laws of Moses, but he did not ignore them. He mentioned that the

⁷¹Philo, *De Virtutibus*, 90.

⁷²Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus*, iv, 195, 196.

⁷³Philo, *De Virtutibus*, 103.

⁷⁴Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus*, ii, 122.

⁷⁵Philo, *De Virtutibus*, 124.

⁷⁶Juan A. G. Larraya, *Flavio Josefo, Las Guerras de los Judíos* (México: Latino-Americana, 1956), pp. 8-11.

product of the seventh year belonged to all who pleased to use it and that the year of Jubilee was the year of remission of debts and freedom from slavery.⁷⁷

VIII. SUMMARY

The *Mishnah* and the writings of the Essenes did not manifest too much love for the poor. It is unfortunate that these conservative groups did not do much for them. The *Mishnah* favored the rich. The Essenes were too busy with their religion to think about them.

Greek philosophers were even worse. They considered slaves to be practically the same as animals. And yet, even philosophers became poor, and even among the Greeks poverty begat slavery.

Philo on the other hand manifested great love to God and to humanity. He defended the social laws of Moses from a loving and humanitarian point of view. He manifested the true spirit in which they were written to a society that had little concern for the poor.

An interesting thing that has been uncovered in this chapter is the formula $\gamma\lambda = \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\eta\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in the Septuagint. This deserves further study. The effect of this transition in this period is very significant, since it could end with good men like Philo limiting their love to proselytes and not extending it to all humanity. However, this does not seem to be the case when all of his writings are considered.

⁷⁷Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates*, III, xii, 3.

CHAPTER IV

POVERTY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The ministry of Jesus took place almost in its entirety in Palestine. However, even the gospels were written for all of the Roman Empire and eventually for all of humanity. Since this is the case, it is proper to consider first the situation in the Roman Empire as far as poverty and slavery are concerned, and then consider the teachings of the New Testament together with the application of these teachings as presented in this document.

I. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

There were many poor persons in the Roman Empire. It has been estimated that up to 50% of the population were slaves.¹ While this number may be exaggerated, there is no question that there was much poverty in the Empire. Another historian has indicated that in the period of the Empire 300,000 libertines kept on practicing the vices they had learned when they were slaves. Most of these did not work. They did not consider it dishonorable to live asking for alms.²

During the century before Christ Spartacus led a temporarily successful rebellion of slaves in Italy. He was victorious in several battles. Pompey overcame him when he was returning in triumph from

¹H. D. M. Spence-Jones, *The Early Christians in Rome* (London: Methuen, 1910), p. 135.

²A. Malet, *Historia Romana: Los Orígenes, las Conquistas, el Imperio* (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1958), p. 146.

Spain. As a result, not less than 6,000 slaves were crucified along the Appian Way.³

Slaves were held in very low esteem. It is said that Cicero claimed that nothing great or noble could come from them.⁴ During all of this time slaves, war captives or prisoners condemned to death were used in the gladiatorial fights in the ampitheatres.⁵

A Licinian Law proclaimed in the Fourth Century B.C. limited the land that patrician families could own. However, it was not obeyed. Many families owned great estates that were worked by slaves. The poor farmers became poorer and poorer and went to try to make a living in the cities. They lived from whatever the rich gave them for whatever they were asked to do. Their children eventually married slaves and their ambition in life dwindles considerable.⁶

All of this indicates that the social situation in the cities in which Paul preached was very sad. There was extreme poverty. There were many slaves. Jerusalem, on the outskirts, was just as bad.

II. ΠΡΟΣΗΛΥΤΟΣ

The Septuagint seems to indicate that the compassion due to foreigners was to be manifested to those who had accepted the Jewish faith. This idea is not found in the Old Testament. It is also absent from the New Testament, since the four times in which the word is

³Johannes Leipoldt and Walter Grundman, *El Mundo del Nuevo Testamento* I (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1973), 31, 32.

⁴Spence-Jones, p. 134.

⁵Malet, p. 151.

⁶Ricardo Vera Tornell, *Historia de la Civilización* I (Barcelona: Sopena, 1958), p. 387.

used it is used in reference to converts to Judaism, regardless of their social standing (Mt 23:15; Ac 2:11; 6:5; 13:43).⁷

III. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS AND ACTS

The book of Acts is included with the synoptics because it was written by one of the authors of the synoptic gospels. Perrin indicates that "Luke and Acts were originally written to be read together as a single work in two volumes."⁸

As far as this study is concerned, the synoptic gospels and the book of Acts down to chapter 12 describe the conditions in Palestine during the first half of the first century of our era. They also contain some timely instructions on social issues.

Parables. One of the distinguishing features of the teachings of Jesus is that he utilized this method of instruction. The great majority of his parables touch on the social issues of his day. Some of them deal with them very directly. These include "The Rich Man and Lazarus" (Lk 16:19-31); "The Widow and the Judge" (Lk 18:1-8); "The Unforgiving Servant" (δοῦλος, Mt 18:21-35); "The Workers in the Vineyard" (Mt 20:1-16); "The Vineyard and the Tenants" (Mt 21:33-43; Mk 12:1-12; Lk 20:9-19); "The Faithful or the Unfaithful Servant" (δοῦλος, Mt 24:45-51; Lk 12:41-48) and "The Parable of the Talents" (thes were entrusted to δοῦλοι, Mt 25:14-30; Lk 19:11-17).

⁷Alfred Schmoller, *Handkonkordanz zum Griechischen Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1963), p. 437.

⁸Norman Perrin, *The New Testament, an Introduction* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), p. 195.

Other parables present insights to the social conditions of that period. In the parable of the "Wheat and the Tares" (Mt 13:24-30) the father of the household had slaves. The parable of the "Unprofitable Servants" (δοῦλοι, Lk 17:7-10) makes a clear presentation of the duties of slaves, since after toiling all day in the fields, when they returned in the evening, they still had to serve their master before they could prepare their own meals. Even the kind father in the parable of the "Prodigal Son" (Lk 15:11-32) owned slaves. This was also the case of the king in the parable of the "Marriage Feast" (Mt 22:1-14; Lk 14:15-24). The parable of the "Sheep and the Goats" indicates that any service rendered to a person in need is rendered to Jesus Himself (Mt 25:31-46)..

Preaching. At least in three different sermons Jesus criticized the lack of concern of the Jews towards the poor. The first two were delivered in His own home town. In the first one he quoted the text that indicates that God had anointed him "to preach good news to the poor" (Is 61:1 → Lk 4:18). In the second one He made reference to the great number of widows in Israel in the time of Elijah, but the prophet was sent to Zarephat (2 Kg 5:1-14 → Lk 4:25,26). In another sermon He condemns the Scribes and Pharisees for devouring the houses of the widows (Mt 23:14; Lk 20:47).

One positive statement is made concerning poverty in the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus calls His followers "poor" (Lk 6:20; Mt 5:3) and blesses them

Parenesis. Jesus advised His followers to invite the poor to

their feasts (Lk 14:13). He also said that the worker is worthy of his wages (Lk 10:7 → 1 Tm 5:18). This is a sound principle of fairness in hiring and paying for the labor of others. At the same time, Jesus advised the soldiers to be satisfied with their pay and not to rob from others through the use of legal or illegal force (Lk 3:14). This is very important in consideration of the use of bribes.

Events. The social habits of the day are seen by the fact that Zebedee had hired workers (Mk 1:20). As taught in the Old Testament, workers were paid at the end of the day (Mt 20:8).

When John the Baptist was in prison, he sent messengers to inquire if Jesus was the expected Messiah. In affirming that He was, Jesus sent the message "the poor have good news preached to them" (Mt 11:5; Lk 7:22).

"Sell What you Possess and Give to the Poor." Jesus advise to the Rich Young Ruler has been a matter of concern throughout the centuries. A few have sold their possessions to serve others. However, while He advised this on the one hand (Mt 19:21; Mk 10:21; Lk 18:22), on the other, He congratulated Zacheus for giving half of what he had to the poor (Mt 19:8). What is more, He accepted Mary's anointing His feet with a costly ointment (Mt 26:9; Mk 14:5). He reminded His followers that they would always have the poor in their midst (Dt 15:1 → Mt 26:11; Mk 14:7).

Existence of Slavery. It has already been indicated that there were slaves in Palestine in the time of Jesus. The centurion indicated that he had the same kind of dominion over his slaves as over his

soldiers (Mt 8:9; Lk 7:8). Herod had slaves (Mt 1:2). Even the High priest had male and female slaves (Mt 26:51; Mk 14:47; Lk 22:50 and Mt 26:69; Mk 14:66,69; Lk 22:56).

Jesus used the figure of slavery in some of His parenetical statements. He indicated that no slave can have two masters (Mt 6:24; Lk 16:13); that the slave is not greater than his master (Mt 10:24) and that among His followers, whoever wanted to be first would have to be a slave in the service of others (Mt 20:27; Mk 10:44).

Poverty Among the Early Christians in Jerusalem. At the beginning of the Christian Church Christians shared their possessions with each other (Ac 2:44; 4:32). However, things did not proceed too harmoniously as the church grew, since a problem soon developed with the hellenistic widows (Ac 6:1-3). This custom was soon dropped also because of the problem of Ananias and Sapphira (Ac 5). Soon after this the widows had to be clothed with garments made by Dorcas (Ac 9:39). This indicates the existence of a program of assistance rather than a sharing of goods. Conzelmann indicates that "this picture of the care of the poor does not harmonize with a community of goods, but shows an organized charitable undertaking."⁹

Slavery Among the Early Christians in Jerusalem. Like the centurion in the gospels, Cornelius also had slaves (Ac 10:7). He did not have to free his slaves as a prerequisite to his becoming a Christian. Rhode was also a slave in a Christian household (Ac 12:13).

⁹Hans Conzelmann, *History of Primitive Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1973), p. 57.

Slavery in the Last Part of the Book of Acts. With all of this it should be no surprise to notice that there was slavery in other parts of the Empire in the later part of the book of Acts. This was particularly true among those who had not yet accepted Christianity, as seen in the case of Lydia who was used as a sorceress by her masters (Ac 16:16).

IV. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE EARLY EPISTLES OF PAUL

This section presents Paul's statements on poverty and slavery in the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians and Galatians that were written before the first goxpel. Palestine was the geographical center of the gospels. Corinth was the center of these epistles.

Offerings for the Poor of Jerusalem. According to the book of Acts the Christian churches of the Gentile community sent offerings to the poor of Jerusalem (Ac 11:29). This was before Paul's First Missionary Journey.

One of the recommendations of the Jerusalem Council was that the Gentile Christian Communities to be organized should not forget the poor (Gl 2:10). It is not indicated if this made reference to the Church in Jerusalem or to the poor there. Paul indicates that he had special interest in helping the "poor" in Jerusalem.

The first Christians in Macedonia were poor (2 Co 8:2). However, they made liberal contributions for the poor in Jerusalem (2 Co 8, 9). The Christians in Achaia also contributed toward this end. The fact that this was mentioned to the church in Rome indicates that it was a united effort of all Gentile Christians (Rm 15:26,31).

Salary. Paul indicates that his readers knew well what it meant to plant and to water a field for pay (1 Co 3:8). He also knew what it meant to work with his hands while serving in the ministry and what it meant to receive salary from one church while working for another church (2 Co 11:8).

Slavery. Paul speaks about slavery in a spiritual sense, deriving spiritual lessons from this experience. In doing this he indicates the experience through which many slaves passed at that time. A slave had to obey his master (Rm 6:16). Slavery was a yoke of bondage (Gl 5:1). A slave lived in fear (Rm 8:15). Paul also indicates that a slave has no rights. He compares him to a child of the master who has no rights during his childhood (Gl 4:1). This was the situation in the Roman Empire at that time. Jewish slaves did have rights and could not be compared to children. They could keep the things that they found if they were Jewish. This was not the case if they were not Jewish. If the wife or a minor found something they could not keep it.¹⁰

Parenesis. There are three significant statements in these epistles in which Paul faces clearly the problem of slavery. Some have lessons that could be used in preaching and for the improvement of humanity under any circumstances.

The first one is similar to a statement of Jesus. Christians must serve one another even as slaves because they love each other (Gl 5:13). Jesus had said that whoever wished to be great in His kingdom

¹⁰*Baba Metzia* 1:5, in trans. Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 348.

would have to learn to be slaves in the service of others before achieving this greatness (Mt 20:27; Mk 10:44).

Pagans compared slaves with beasts. Christians considered them to be equal to anyone. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave or free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gl 3:28). This statement gained significance as the church grew in membership and influence.

On the other hand, Paul did not encourage slaves to attain their freedom by the use of force. He encouraged them to be satisfied with their position. At the same time, they should avail themselves of the opportunity to become free (1 Co 7:21), but not using force.

V. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN PAUL'S LATER EPISTLES

These epistles were written after the synoptic gospels had been written or at the time of writing of the last of these gospels. Liberal scholarship would not accept these epistles as being of pauline origin. However, their instructions on social issues are so specific and different from the customs of the day that it could be considered to be certain that the church would not accept them from an authority lesser than that of an apostle. This apostle is considered to be Paul.

Widows. In order to receive assistance from the church a real widow would have to be over sixty years old, have had only one husband and have no descendants to support her (1 Tm 5:5,9). Otherwise, it is the duty of her children and grandchildren to support her (1 Tm 5:16). Paul indicates that the church should not support a younger widow because it is very likely that she will remarry (1 Tm 5:11). Earlier he

had stated that there was nothing wrong if she remarried another Christian (1 Co 7:39).

Instructions to Christian Slaves. The duty of Christian slaves was to serve their masters with fear and trembling and with good will. They should serve them as though they served the Lord Himself (Eph 6:5-7; Col 3:22).

They should consider their masters as persons worthy of all honor. They should give even better service to Christian masters (1 Tm 6:1,2). In being submissive to their masters they should "give satisfaction in every respect; ... not be refractory, not to pilfer, (but) show entire and true fidelity" (Tit 2:9,10).

Philemon and Onesimus. Philemon was one of the few well-to-do converts to Christianity in the first century. After Domitian, Christianity infiltrated even "the immediate entourage of the emperors, and with this infiltration of Christianity into all classes of society the problem became increasingly acute."¹¹

Onesimus was a slave who belonged to Philemon but had escaped. He was converted to Christianity by Paul during one of Paul's imprisonments (Phm 10). The Old Testament and Philo advised slaves in such a case to remain in the custody of someone else, but not their former masters. Paul sent him back (Phm 12). "He does not suggest that Philemon should release him, but asks him to love him."¹²

¹¹Oscar Cullman, *The Early Church* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956), p. 196.

¹²A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953), p. 165.

Two amazing situations come from this experience. The first one is that the basis for all human relationship is love. The second one is that Paul presents an advise that contradicts the Law of Moses. Circumstances in the Roman Empire differed from those under Israelite rule. These recommended a solution that differed from the old law. Evidently in matters pertaining to laws of a national or ceremonial nature and not to moral principles their tenets are not fully normative. However, the underlying principle, love, is eternal. On the other hand, there is no incident of a contradiction to one of the principles of the Ten Commandments in the New Testament.

VI. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE GENERAL EPISTLES

The book of James is the one that deals most directly with these problems in this section of the New Testament. Except for one important statement from Peter, the rest are from him.

Poverty. Jesus had addressed His followers as "the poor" (Mt 5:3; Lk 6:20). James now indicated that God had chosen them in a special way for His kingdom (Js 2:5).

As noted above, most of the Christians were poor. However, when a rich person entered the congregation, the church members deferred to that person (Js 2:2). And yet, the person deferred to was one of those that oppressed the poor (Js 2:6). There was no reason to defer to him.

Warnings not to show partiality to persons of wealth and position indicate that the church stood for close brotherhood of all members regardless of class. These warnings show that the ideal was not always reached, but the leaders denounced and did not

tolerate such infiltration of worldly standards of judgment (cf. 1 Tm 6:17-19; Hb 13:5; Js 1:9-11; 2:1-7; 4:13 - 5:6).¹³

Journeyman. James indicated that the wages of the laborers had not been paid and that they were crying out to God (Js 5:4). In this he used the same figure used concerning the blood of Abel (Gn 4:10).

Orphans and Widows. Jesus had indicated that any help given to a person in need was given to Him (Mt 25:35,36). James taught that the visitation of orphans and widows was the secret of a pure and undefiled religion (Js 1:27).

Slavery. James did not write on this subject. Peter, like Paul, recommended Christian slaves to be faithful to their masters. He compared their sufferings under their masters to the sufferings of Jesus (1 Pt 2:18-21).

VII. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF JOHN

Both Liberal and Conservative Theology consider these to be among the last documents of the Bible. Liberal Theology considers that a few of the General Epistles could have come after these writings.

Repetition of Material Found in the Synoptic Gospels. Generally speaking, not much of what is found in the gospel of John is found in the others. An exception to this is found in some social problems.

When Jesus sent His disciples on a preaching mission He taught that the servant is not greater than his master (Mt 10:24). This is

¹³Floyd V. Filson, *A New Testament History* (London: SCM Press, 1965), p. 332.

presented twice in the gospel of John (13:16; 15:20).

The anointing of Jesus' feet by Mary is repeated by John, as well as the statement "the poor you always have with you" (Jn 12:5,6,8). However, John is the only one that indicates that Judas really did not care for the poor (vv. 5,6).

Together with the synoptics John indicates that the High Priest had slaves of both sexes (Jn 18:10,17,26). Actually, Pater's experiences with these slaves are presented in all four gospels.

Poverty. Jesus was poor. He did not have a place where He could lay His head (Mt 8:20; Lk 9:58). Yet, out of this poverty, John is the only one that states that Jesus habitually gave to the poor (Jn 13:29).

Journeyman. Jesus' statements concerning salaried shepherds in the gospel of John are not very pleasant (Jn 10:12,13). However, John also indicates that the reaper receives a salary (Jn 4:36). Paul had indicated that the sower and the person that watered the field worked for wages (1 Co 3:8). This statement of Jesus in the gospel of John completes the agricultural cycle.

Slavery. The Jews could not have an army, but they had a force of bodyguards (ὕπερῆς). These are probably the male slaves of the High Priest. They were sent to apprehend Jesus and returned praising His work (Jn 7:32,45,46). They accompanied Judas when Jesus was taken captive (Jn 18:3,12,18). One of them smote Jesus (Jn 18:22) and they all cried out "Crucify Him" (Jn 19:6).

The officer of the government at Capernaum whose son was healed

by Jesus also had slaves (Jn 4:51). Even Jesus' relatives at Cana had servants (δουλόνου, Jn 2:5,9). However, these could have been hired for the occasion.

Jesus did not consider His followers to be slaves because they knew what He was doing (Jn 15:15). His followers did use this term to describe their relationship to Him and to the Father (Php 1:1; Tit 1:1; Js 1:1; 1 Pt 1:1; Rv 1:1). It was also used to describe Moses' relationship with God (Rv 15:3) and that of other ministers (Eph 6:21; Col 1:7). Revelation uses this term to describe the followers of Jesus (2:20; 7:3; 19:2; 22:6) and the prophets of old (10:7; 11:18).

Revelation. The subject of poverty is also found in the symbolism of this book. Smyrna considered itself to be poor being rich (Rv 2:9). Laodicea considered itself rich, being poor (Rv 3:17). The mark of the beast will be placed upon both poor and rich (Rv 13:16).

VIII. THE RICH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Many insights concerning the rich and the mighty have been seen while dealing with the poor and the slaves above. However, there are some that have been omitted there and should be considered now.

The Synoptic Gospels and Acts. Many parables present the problems of the poor. "The Rich Fool" (Lk 12:12-21) and "The Dishonest Steward" (Lk 16:1-13) present the problems of the rich. In the parable of the sower (Mt 13:1-9,18-23; Mk 4:1-9,13-20; Lk 8:4-8,11-15) the thorns represent the delight in riches which choke the word.

After the rich young ruler left Jesus He indicated that it is

not easy for a wealthy person to enter into the Kingdom of God (Mt 19:23, 24; Mk 10:25; Lk 18:23-25). He also indicated that "the kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and those in authority over them are called benefactors" (Lk 22:25). How often this is true in modern civilization even in the case of tyrants and dictators.

Several rich persons eventually followed Jesus. These include Zacchaeus (Lk 19:2), Nicodemus (Jn 19:39) and Joseph of Arimathaea (Mt 27:57).

These gospels also present God as a Mighty Ruler over all of us (Lk 2:29; Ac 4:24). The Greek word in this case is not very pleasant in modern society (δεσπότης).

The Early Epistles of Paul. The lordship of the resurrected Christ is often presented in these epistles (Rm 6:9; 14:9). Another figure is the wealth of the love and wisdom of God (Rm 2:4; 11:33). These are symbolic, but they indicate that a rich and powerful person was not to be despised because of his wealth and power.

Paul's Later Epistles. Many of the symbols presented above are continued in these epistles. It is also significant that some instructions are found in these epistles of the way the rich should treat the poor. Among other things, they should treat the poor in the same manner in which they expected to be treated by their slaves (Eph 6:9). This is a practical application of the Golden Rule (Mt 7:12). They should not threaten their slaves (Eph 6:9) but treat them justly and fairly (Col 4:1).

1 Timothy 6 has many instructions for the rich. The desire to

become rich makes people fall into temptation (v.9). "The love of money is the root of all evils (v.10). The rich must not put their trust on the uncertainty of their wealth (v.17). They must do good and be liberal and generous with that which God has given them (v.18).

IX. SUMMARY

The greatest hope for the poor and the oppressed came out of the worse oppression that the world has ever known. Christianity emerged from the Roman Empire and not only gave hope to the poor, but indicated to the rich how they should treat lovingly their poor brethren.

Most of these instructions have been covered in this chapter. However, a full analysis of these would require a thorough exegesis of each of these passages and a consideration of the same from the point of view of Liberation Theology. The important thing as far as this study is concerned is that there are many passages in the New Testament from which the love to the poor can be preached. These serve as an inspiration and a norm that has not been followed in the Christian world.

It should also be mentioned that the writers of the New Testament quoted extensively from the Septuagint. However, they considered a proselyte to be a convert to Judaism and not a foreigner as in the Greek version of the Old Testament. Thus, Christianity departed from both the Judaism of its day and the society of the Roman Empire. It had and still has a higher aim for the present and for the future.

CHAPTER V

POVERTY IN CHURCH HISTORY PRIOR TO THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

Church history is generally divided into periods that end around the time of Augustine and around the time of the Reformation. This chapter can only be a brief presentation of the problem of poverty in Church History. Since the discovery of America is more significant in Spanish history than the Reformation, this time is taken as the conclusion of the period under consideration.

The lofty ideals concerning the poor that are found in the New Testament have been considered in the previous chapter. The question to be considered now is, What did the church do, or what could it do with these ideals? Patristic Theology, which is very important to Spanish preaching, will present some of the answers to these questions.

I. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

It is considered that these writings were those that followed immediately the time of the apostles. Some of them probably overlapped with the time of the later disciples of Jesus.

The Didache. Daniel Ruiz Bueno dates this work after the year 70 of our era.¹ He recognizes that Casamassa, another Catholic investigator, dates them between 96 and 98.² Conzelmann dates it in the first decades of the Second Century. However, he also places it first

¹Daniel Ruiz Bueno, *Padres Apostólicos* (Madrid: Católica, 1950), pp. 72, 73.

²Ibid., p. 73.

among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, the next coming approximately in the time of Domitian.³ This means that he dates this document between the years 90 and 130 of our era.

This document follows the instructions found in the New Testament concerning the submission of slaves to their masters (Eph 6:5-7; Col 3:22; 1 Pt 2:18-21).⁴ It also follows the teaching that the meek, which makes reference to the poor, will inherit the earth (Ps 37:11; Mt 5:5).⁵ It considers those that defend the rich and unjustly judge the poor to be sinners.⁶ This follows the teachings of the Old Testament (Ex 23:3; Lv 19:15; etc.).

Probably its main original contribution was to indicate that the First Fruits should be given to the prophets. If the congregation did not have any prophets, they should be given to the poor.⁷ This probably represented the first systematization of giving in the Church.

First Clement. Most historians date this document in the last decade of the first century of our era.⁸ It is a letter from the church of Rome to that of Corinth similar to Paul's letter to this church.

He says that each person must submit to another person according to his position. "The strong person must care for the weak person and the weak show respect to the strong. The rich should give to the poor

³Hans Conzelmann, *History of Primitive Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973), p. 25.

⁴*Didache* 4:9,10.

⁵*Ibid.*, 3:7.

⁶*Ibid.*, 5:2.

⁷*Ibid.*, 13:1-7.

⁸Ruiz Bueno, p. 115; Conzelmann, p. 26; Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Historia del Cristianismo*, I (El Paso: Casa Bautista de Publicaciones, 1958), 160.

and the poor thank God who provided someone to remedy his need."⁹ This was an idea that was used fairly often by Spanish preachers.

Polycarp. Conzelmann dates Polycarp's martyrdom between 155 and 177.¹⁰ Polycarp recommends widows to "be prudent, ... to pray without ceasing for all, to be removed completely from ... all false witness, love of money and all evil."¹¹ He has nothing to say about their support.

Epistle of Barnabas. This pseudepigraphical document is dated anywhere between 70 and 140, with greater reliability placed between 130 and 140.¹² It is interesting to notice that it repeats the thought from the *Didache* in which reference is made to the sinfulness of those that defended the rich and unjustly judged the poor.¹³

The Shepherd of Hermas. This anonymous writer wrote from Rome. His brother was Pius, the Bishop of Rome (141-155).¹⁴ Two of his works deal with the subjects that are being considered in this study. One of them indicates that it is necessary to serve widows, to help orphans and needy persons and to redeem the needs of God's servants.¹⁵ Ministers are classified with the needy. This was also true of the Levites in Old Testament times as noted above.

⁹1 Clement 38:2.

¹⁰Conzelmann, p. 27.

¹¹Epistle of Polycarp 4:3.

¹²Conzelmann, pp. 27, 28; Ruiz Bueno, p. 753.

¹³Epistle of Barnabas 20:1,2.

¹⁴Ruiz Bueno, p. 899.

¹⁵Shepherd of Hermas, Commandment 8:10,11.

The Clementine idea of the relationship between the rich and the poor is amplified by the Shepherd of Hermas. He indicates that the rich are beggars toward God and the poor are rich in His sight. This means that they can be of mutual assistance in their needs.¹⁶

In another parable he speaks of a slave that shares an inheritance with the son of his master because of his dedication to his work. This slave is the Son of God.¹⁷ He also indicates that it is bad to even think that a slave may deny his master. This is punished among the Gentiles.¹⁸ This also has an application to our relationship with God.

II. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

These are probably the hardest documents to date. For the purpose of this study it should be sufficient to say that some of them were known by Origen and Eusebius of Caesarea.¹⁹ This indicates that these writings come from the Second Century. However, it is hard to prove that we have them in their original form.

Widows. These documents present a similar statement to the one presented above concerning the support of widows and church leaders. "You ought to honor suitable elders, catechists, competent deacons, widows whose conduct is respectable, and orphans as children of the church."²⁰

¹⁶Shepherd of Hermas, *Similarities* 2:5-7.

¹⁷Ibid. 5:2-11.

¹⁸Ibid. 9:28.4,8.

¹⁹Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha* I (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), 52-68.

²⁰*The Appointment of Zachaeus* 71:5, in *ibid*, II, 557.

Slavery. Most of the thoughts in the Apocrypha concerning the issues of this study have to do with slavery. One of them combines slavery with widows in speaking of a mother who freed several young people and gave gifts to widows when Peter had resurrected her son.²¹ In another case it is said that Philip resurrected an only son of a rich family in order to save ten slaves that were being burned with his body.²²

One statement speaks of the equality of all people. Jesus is supposedly saying from the cross, "You men who are present, and women and children and old people, slaves and free, and all who wish to hear, pay no heed to the vain illusion of this temporal life."²³

Probably the most interesting incident in these writings is found in the "Acts of Thomas." Here it is said that King Gundaphorus (Hyndopheres in Greek history) sent Abbanes to look for a slave that was a carpenter. It says that Jesus sold him Thomas in order that he might preach His message in India.²⁴ It is interesting that in this case a historical personality is mentioned.

III. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF THE APOLOGISTS

This section will bring us to the end of the Second Century of our era. At this time Christianity had a more direct confrontation with Greek philosophy. Most of these Christian leaders wrote apologies of

²¹Acts of Peter 28, in Montague Rhodes James, trans., *The Apocryphal New Testament*

²²Acts of Philip 6:80-86, in *ibid.*, pp. 445, 446.

²³Acts of Andrew, Ep. Gr. 11; Mart. ii,6; Narr. 30, in Hennecke, II, 420

²⁴Acts of Thomas 2, in James, p. 365.

their faith to Greek philosophers or to Jewish thinkers in the Roman Empire.

Aristides. This apology was addressed to Emperor Hadrian during the year 125-126.²⁵ He defends the Christian religion using the argument of the way in which the Church dealt with social issues.

They do not despise the widow or bring sorrow to the orphan. The one with means supplies abundantly the needs of the one who has no means. If they see a stranger, they bring him under their roof and rejoice with him as if he truly belonged to their family. They do not refer to each other as "brother" according to the flesh, but according to the soul.²⁶

Justin Martyr. He was the best known of the apologists. He was a Roman Samaritan converted to Christianity who suffered martyrdom under Junius Rusticus, a personal friend of the Emperor. This took place the year 163 of our era.²⁷

Justin presents a greater degree of organization in the administration of relief to the needy within the Christian Church.

Those that have the means and desire to do so give each one of them according to their free will. That which has been given is delivered to the president, and out of this he helps the orphans and the widows, those who are needy because of illness or any other reason, those that are incarcerated, those strangers who are on their way, and, in one word, he becomes the provider of all who are in need.²⁸

He also addressed himself to the equality of all believers within the church.

People from all walks of life, free or slaves, when they believe in Christ and recognize the truthfulness of His words and of the words of the prophets, have the assurance that they shall live

²⁵Daniel Ruiz Bueno, *Padres Apologistas Griegos* (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1954), p. 107.

²⁶*Aristides* 15:7.

²⁷Ruiz Bueno, pp. 160, 161.

²⁸Justin Martyr, *Apology* i, 67:6.

together with Him in that earth and inherit the eternal and uncorruptible goods.²⁹

Tacianus. He was the successor of Justin. The last that is known about him comes from the year 185.³⁰ He makes a very significant statement about the equality of the rich and the poor.

If I am a slave I endure slavery; if I am free, I am not proud of my nobility. ... The rich man sows, and the poor participates of the same harvest. The rich die, and the same lot befalls the beggar. The rich need many things ... but the poor and modest who desire no more than that which is within their reach, attain it with greater ease. Why do you pass the night without sleeping, fulfilling your fate, overtaken by covetousness?³¹

He also indicates that within the church "not only the rich philosophize, but also the poor participate freely in teaching."³² This also indicates the equality between the rich and the poor.

Athenagoras. This Christian philosopher wrote his *Legislation in Favor of the Christians* the year 177.³³ Christians were accused of cannibalism in connection with the Lord's Supper. His reply was that there were Christian slaves "from whom we cannot hide. ... None of these has come to slander us concerning these things."³⁴ This means that Christian slaves sided with their masters defending the faith. They must have been treated very well by them. Pagan slaves would have never defended pagan masters like this.

²⁹Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* 139:5.

³⁰Ruiz Bueno, p. 564.

³¹Tacianus, *Address Against the Greeks* 11.

³²*Ibid.*, 32:1.

³³Ruiz Bueno, p. 642.

³⁴Athenagoras, *Legation in Favor of the Christians* 35:1,2.

IV. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITING OF CHRYSOSTOM

John Chrysostom is the greatest preacher of all times. He was a lawyer before becoming a preacher. He preached in Greek. His dates are 345-407.³⁵

Miranda indicates that in almsgiving a person is not giving that which belongs to him, but returning that which was not his in the first place.³⁶ In doing this he quotes from Chrysostom, "Do not say, 'I am spending what is mine. I am enjoying what is mine.' In reality, it is not yours but another's."³⁷

God stated that the land belonged to Him and not to the people that used in (Dt 25:23). He did not entrust its care to the king or to the priests, or even to the prophets. Its care and its use was entrusted to families that received it as an inheritance.

Commenting on Matthew 5:3, Chrysostom asks the question, "Why didn't He speak of the humble, but of the poor?" His answer, "Because poor is more than humble."³⁸

V. THE MIXTURE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE

Dussel states that Christianity came as a result of this mixture. He also indicates that Origen tried to be a Hellenist for the

³⁵Latourette, I, 139.

³⁶José Miranda, *Marx and the Bible, a Critique of the Philosophy of Oppression* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1971), p. 15.

³⁷Miranda, p. 15, citing John Chrysostom, *In 1 Corinthians*, PG, 61, col. 86.

³⁸John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew* 15:1.

Hellenists and a Christian for the Christians. He adds that this began with Clement in Alexandria.³⁹ Actually, this can be traced to Philo, who also in Alexandria tried to fuse Judaism with Greek philosophy.

This mixture also had its effects in the teachings of the church concerning the poor. The Greeks did not really have much consideration for the poor. The Jews had very humanitarian laws. The Christian Church has a blending of these two ideals.

Actually, Clement of Alexandria is considered to be the only voice in favor of the rich among early Christians.⁴⁰ This is very significant in the light of what has been considered above.

VI. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF AMBROSE

The dates for Ambrose are 340-397. He was the Roman Prefect of Northern Italy when he was named Bishop of Milan. Among his converts to Christianity is Augustine of Hippo. He combined Stoic philosophy with Christian thinking.⁴¹

He indicated that the slave could have a character superior to that of his master. He could even have more freedom than his master.⁴² He also considered almsgiving to be returning the possessions to their rightful owners.⁴³

At least twice he indicated that private property is really

³⁹Enrique Dussel, *History and the Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976), pp. 71, 72.

⁴⁰Samuel E. Keeble, *The Social Teachings of the Bible* (London: Kelly, 1910), p. 268.

⁴¹Latourette, I, 139.

⁴²Ibid., I, 301, 302.

⁴³Miranda, p. 16.

something that belongs to all, and not only to those who possess it.⁴⁴ However, in quoting these two thoughts, Keeble also indicates that it would be unfair to consider that Ambrose was teaching that it is unlawful to possess property.⁴⁵ This indicates that he would accept some higher degree of prosperity in some than in others. This apparent contradiction is noticeable in most, if not in all of the Latin Fathers.

VII. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF JEROME

Eusebius Jeronimus Sefronius is best known for his translation of the Bible into Latin known as the Vulgate. He was born in Italy, close to the Adriatic coast, c. 342. He lived in the vicinity of Rome until 386. In order to prepare a more accurate translation of the Bible he moved to Palestine, where he remained until his death, c. 420.⁴⁶

Both Keeble and Miranda present the same quotation from his writings in which he indicates that if a person is rich he owes his riches to theft. If the rich person is not a thief, then he inherits his riches from thieves.⁴⁷ In giving to the poor he is only returning that which he or his parents stole from them.

VIII. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF AUGUSTINE

Augustine of Hippo is by far the best known of all of the Church Fathers. He was the son of a Pagan father and a Christian mother in the town of Thagaste, North Africa, in 354. He more or less led the life of a pagan philosopher until his baptism in Milan in 387.

⁴⁴Keeble, p. 265. ⁴⁵Ibid. ⁴⁶Latourette, I, 287, 288.

⁴⁷Keeble, p. 267; Miranda, p. 15.

He arrived in Hippo in 391, where he founded a monastery and became Auxiliary Bishop. Hippo was the second port of North Africa at that time. In 396 he became the main Bishop in the city. He continued in this capacity until his death in 430. Rome was temporarily occupied by Alaric in 410. The Vandals took Hippo in 430, just before his death.⁴⁸

Much can be said about Augustine's writings on social issues. Gutiérrez, Keeble and Miranda quote from him on this problem. However, their quotations are biased. They are not interested in presenting a complete study on Augustine on this problem. This is something that must be done in the future.

Sometimes our actions speak louder than our words. It must be pointed out that upon his conversion Augustine donated his modest inheritance to the church.

Poverty and the Poor. In one of his letters Augustine stated that it never could be considered a sin to be poor for the hard working person. In this case, poverty is a bulwark against sin.⁵⁰ He also indicated that God's servants preferred to be poor than to attain riches by fraud.⁵¹

On the other hand, many were sinning in their poverty. "Many poor want to become rich, and through their desires they sin. 'Why do you present before me your total lack of riches if I condemn you

⁴⁸Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 16, 19, 74-77, 184-187, 282-285, 378, 379, 431, 432; Félix García, *Obras de San Agustín I* (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1957), 26, 28.

⁴⁹Augustine, *Letter* 126.7

⁵⁰*Ibid.* 104.3.

⁵¹*Ibid.* 96.2.

because of your abundant coveteousness?"⁵² This indicates clearly that Augustine did not believe in the formula "poverty = virtue."

The Rich. Augustine at times had something good to say about the rich. In one of his sermons he indicated that "that which is condemned is the appetite (for riches), not riches themselves, but the appetite for them."⁵³ He also advised the poor not to despise the rich who are merciful.⁵⁴

Delinquency. Augustine indicated two ways in which a person may become delinquent. One of these is related to our subject. One form of delinquency was hurting someone else. The other one was to deny help in time of need.⁵⁵

Almsgiving. Augustine believed that we ourselves should be the first beneficiaries of our alms. We should first give them to ourselves.⁵⁶ It is not easy to love others without loving ourselves.

He indicated that it is impossible to live a wicked life and not do anything about it, and try to atone for wickedness with a great display of almsgiving. This is not a way to buy the impunity of remaining in the enormity of their crimes.⁵⁷ He also presents the other side of this argument. Following Ecclesiasticus 29:15 he also indicates that God orders us to give alms and these beg in our favor in the presence of the Lord.⁵⁸

⁵²Augustine, *Sermon* 14.7. ⁵³Ibid., 61.10. ⁵⁴Ibid., 14.4.

⁵⁵Augustine, *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae*, i,26,50.

⁵⁶Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 76.20. ⁵⁷Ibid., 75,20; 77,20.

⁵⁸Augustine, *Sermon* 14.1.

Sermon 60. Several of Augustine's sermons contain different thoughts on one phase or another of the topic under consideration in this study. Portions of these sermons have been presented above. Two sermons deal more directly on social issues.

Sermon 60 deals with almsgiving. Speaking of the rich of his time he indicates that they are willing to kill faith in order to gain gold; they are willing to bare the soul in order to cover the body. They are indifferent to poverty, as long as they can swim in their wealth. However, it is not wise for them to put their hearts in riches (Ps 61: 11). He proceeds, "It is great piety to save treasure for the children, but this is also vanity, since one who dies keeps for others that die." He adds that so often money ends up being saved for a robber or a pirate. What answer will be given to God? It is useless to save riches here.

No one flees; no one does anything while all scream, "Woe of us; the world is coming to an end." ... If an architect tells you that your house is in immediate danger, Wouldn't you run to escape rather than complain? The builder of the world tells you that it will come to an end, and you do not believe Him? ... Harken my advise: Give to the poor, and you will store treasure in heaven. You will not be without any treasure, rather you will be assured of treasure in heaven, that which you seek so much upon the earth. ...

What are the poor to whom we give but young servants that serve us taking our wealth from this earth to heaven? Give, thus, and realize that they will carry them to heaven (Mt 25:31-42). ... Christ Himself received alms; He who gave you the means to give received it; He who at the end will give Himself to you.

How much would He be able to say against the wicked if they asked Him, 'Why are we going to eternal fire?' 'Why do you ask, adulterer, murderer, defrauder, sacrilegious, blasphemer, unfaithful?' Nothing of the kind to you, but 'I was hungry and you gave me no food.'

He proceeds saying that the reason for their not going to heaven is not because they did not sin, but because they did not redeem their sins through almsgiving (Js 2:13). He asks his listeners to give

worldly bread to the poor and pray for heavenly bread. He considers it a great merit to have had the privilege of feeding Christ, and a great crime not to have done such a thing.⁵⁹

Sermon 61. This sermon continues the line of reasoning of the former sermon. It is based on Mt 7:8. Here he indicates that if a person has money, he should give it. This is the way of acquiring justice. He says, "You praise the merchant who sells lead and acquires gold. Will you not praise the one that gives money and acquires justice?" He goes on asking yow a person can dare to request something from God while he denies his fellowmen. All are equal in birth and in death. "I see wealth, and I do not find it tasty."

He reminds his listeners that many persons that were rich are poor. They have been robbed. "What does a rich person attain from his riches except that which the poor is requesting from him, that is, food and raiment? ... Everything else is secondary."

He indicates that the poor trust in the rich the same way that the rich trust in God. When the rich finally give, they lighten their burdens. Then follows this strong statement, "Give to the poor; I request this, I advise this, I command this, I impose this. ... I am not worried if you like it or not. ... The poor come to me requesting me to tell you to give them something." After the applause of the congregation he added, "This applause of yours is a burden and a source of danger to us. We tolerate it, but we tremble when we hear it. ... These manifestations of prais from you are the leaves of the tree; what is

⁵⁹Augustine, *Sermon* 60.

needed is the fruit of the tree."⁶⁰ Thus, in a time of need he used his power of persuasion and his Biblical knowledge for the poor.

IX. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE HOMILIES OF POPE LEO THE GREAT

Biographical Sketch. Leo the Great was one of the most outstanding popes. He was born approximately the year 400 of our era. He served as a deacon under Celestine I (422-432), apparently in charge of the poor. He was the Bishop of Rome between 440 and 461. In 440 the influence of the Bishop of Rome was not very great. Things were different after his term of office. As Pope, one of his major interests was preaching.⁶¹ This, combined with the fact that as deacon he was in charge of the poor, makes it only natural that several of his homilies were for the poor.

Conditions in Rome. Rome had always had its slaves and its poor. At this time, on the verge of the disintegration of the Empire, the situation was even worse.

Homilies for the Poor. At least six sermons of Leo for the poor have survived. They are simply numbered progressively by his translators. These numbers are taken as a basis for this study. Five of these six sermons were preached in preparation for collections for the poor.

1. First Homily. In this sermon Leo indicates that whoever helps the poor helps his own soul. This is based on Prov. 11:7 and on

⁶⁰ Augustine, *Sermon* 61.

⁶¹ "Leo the Great," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, VIII (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 637-639.

Christ's statement concerning making treasures in heaven (Lk 12:33; Mt 19:21). Granting riches to some, God wants these to provide for the poor and at the same time to find in this forgiveness for their sins.⁶² These arguments were presented later by Spanish preachers.

2. Second Homily. In this sermon Leo indicates that the practice of taking collections for the poor came from the Holy Fathers. Once more he presents the idea of forgiveness of sins through offerings for the poor based on the fact that charity covers a multitude of sins (1 Pt 4:8).⁶³

3. Third Homily. The tradition of collecting money for the poor is now traced back to the apostles. For this he quotes from 1 Cor. 16:1. The day in which the collection was to be taken was the same day in which pagans served the devil in the name of their idols. Everyone was to share in giving according to their means, even the poor.⁶⁴

4. Fourth Homily. After speaking on the Second Coming of Jesus Leo presents the need of giving to the poor. This is even more important for those that expect the reward of the blessed. People must give if they want to share the reward promised to those that care for the poor (Ps 40:1). Many of those who need the most are ashamed to ask. These must be helped also.⁶⁵

5. Fifth Homily. In this homily Leo presents himself as a pastor in the act of pleading with his parishioners for the poor. Leo

⁶²San León Magno, *Homilías sobre el Año Litúrgico* (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1969), pp. 154, 155.

⁶³Ibid., p. 155.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 155, 156.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 156-160.

indicates that only God knows how much each one is capable of doing. Riches are good when they are in the hands of those that are willing to help others. If the rich do not do this, they are miserable, for they entrusted their lives to the things of this world and not to God.

An interesting statement in this sermon has to do with riches, obedience to the other requirements of the Church and neglecting the poor:

There could be some rich that do not have the habit of helping the poor of the Church with their alms; however, they fulfill the other commandments of God and consider that because of the different merits of their faith and morality the lack of this virtue will be easily forgiven. This is not so, without this virtue, the others, regardless of how many there are, avail nothing.⁶⁶

He considers almsgiving as a manifestation of mercy (Mt 5:7). The Parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Mt 25) is also used. Almsgiving is presented as related to forgiveness of sins (Lk 11:41; Tb 4:11; 12:9). Prayer is heard when others are helped (Pr 21:13). Almsgiving must be an experience that is united to faith (Hab 2:4; Rm 1:17). Fellow believers must not be neglected (Gt 6:9,10). God blesses according to the liberality of the giver (2 Co 9:6). Alms share in the prayer of the Christian (Ws 29:15). This way, the Christian shares in every good deed (Tt 3:1).

One statement from this sermon was used later in other sermons. This is that failing only in this would be sufficient to close the heavenly gates to anyone. John Chrysostom also made this statement.⁶⁷

Sixth Homily. Two thoughts from the previous sermon are reiterated in this one. These are the equation of almsgiving with being

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 161.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 160-162.

merciful to others (Mt 5:7) and the condemnation of the wicked for not giving alms: "Being guilty in many things, they will be condemned mainly for not having redeemed their faults with giving alms even once."⁶⁸ He indicates tht different times of the year had been chosen for almsgiving in the Church.⁶⁹

X. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT

Gregory was born c. 540. His pontificate lasted between 590 and 604. It can be said that with him the Middle Ages begin and the papacy began to have the power for which it was known during this period.⁷⁰

It is impossible to present all of what he said concerning poverty in this study. Keeble indicates that he was one of those that indicated that in giving to the poor "we are returning to them their own, not being bountiful with what is ours; we pay a debt of justice rather than fulfill works of mercy."⁷¹

XI. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF ANSELM

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury was born in Italy in 1033. Approximately the year 1060 he entered monastic life at Bec. His order had many possessions in Great Britain and he was sent there the year 1070. Eventually he became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093. He died in 1109.⁷²

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 163.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 163, 164.

⁷⁰Latourette, p. 406.

⁷¹Keeble, p. 266.

⁷²Julián Alameda, *Obras Completas de San Anselmo*, I (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1952), 5-73.

At this time the Catholic Church was engaged in the acquisition of inheritances from its members. It was of greater concern who made donations to the church and what these donations were than helping the poor. It was also the time of the crusades. This was very important. Thus, it should not surprise us that very little is found in his writings on social issues.

He did write a letter to Gerbert, the Abbot of Fontanelle. He asked him to care for a poor widow who also had lost her son. He considered this widow as though she were his own mother. One of the arguments for caring for her was that Christ "receives our gifts in the person of the poor and he will restore them to us for them." He also indicated that "we must have excessive mercy where there is excessive misery."⁷³ It should be noticed that an Abbot had to be counseled to help a widow. This indicates a lack of interest on the part of the Church at this time to help the poor.

XII. POVERTY AND SLAVERY IN THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS AQUINAS

Thomas Aquinas died in 1274 at the age of 50 while teaching in Paris. He "brought scholasticism to its highest point of development. ... He succeeded in bringing new Aristotelian concepts and the Christian tradition together in an organic union."⁷⁴

It is amazing how little Aquinas has to say about poverty. This can be traced to the same motive presented above. Miranda quotes his

⁷³Anselm, *Letter* 9.

⁷⁴Bengt Hägglund, *History of Theology* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966), p. 183.

statement against private property.⁷⁵ Aquinas bases this concept on the fact that the earth belongs to the Lord.⁷⁶

On the subject of generosity he indicates that charity begins at home. By this he means that "the duty of charity towards oneself precedes that of charity to the neighbor."⁷⁷ He also indicates that "the use of money does not consist only in giving, but also in administering it for our own needs."⁷⁸ Thus, the most that could be said about Aquinas is that he was not opposed to helping the poor.

XIII. DEEDS, NOT WORDS, IN RELATIONSHIP TO POVERTY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Preaching is very important in the Christian church. However, it is only the means toward the end. Jesus asked two of his future disciples to leave their nets (Mt 4:18-20). He asked the Rich Young Ruler to sell his possessions, give them to the poor and follow Him (Mt 19:21). This indicates that action must follow preaching.

Christians recognized the evils of slavery and eventually set them free. This is indicated in a sermon of José Ruiz Medrano. He says that Hermes, upon his conversion freed 1250 of them, Cromatius freed 1400 and St. Melania 8000.⁷⁹

Concerning poverty, deeds were also more important than words during the Middle Ages. The actions of at least two individuals were

⁷⁵Miranda, pp. 1, 32.

⁷⁶Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 2-2 q. 66 a. 1.

⁷⁷Ibid., 2-2 q. 117 a. 4. ⁷⁸Ibid., 2-2 q. 117 a. 3.

⁷⁹José Ruiz Medrano, *Una Voz de México* (México: Editorial Jus, 1962), p. 112.

more significant than the preaching of the times. These actions inspired many preachers during the following centuries.

Francis of Assisi (1182-1226). Francesco Bernardone of Assisi was born in a house of a clothes merchant. Assisi at that time was located between the Papal States and the Holy Roman Empire. In his youth he fought against the Empire and was a prisoner of war in Perugia.⁸⁰

Francis had much admiration for the poor and it was his determination to do for them as much as he could. He also found much inspiration in France, to the extent that he honored his name learning and speaking the language. He was also inspired by the Poor Men of Lyons. These followers of Peter Waldo preached and worked for the poor and were excommunicated. On the other hand, a similar organization, the Poor Men of Milan even had limited preaching privileges. Both Peter Waldo and Francis were concerned with the increase of riches of the few and the unequal distribution of wealth.⁸¹

As often was the case, Francis sought peace for his spirit in Rome. While there he requested a beggar to lend him his clothing and he began asking for alms in French, mixing among the French pilgrims. Upon his return to Assisi he saw a leper and not only fed him, but also kissed his hand. He took clothing from his father's store, sold it and gave the product of the sale to the church. He finally became a beggar.⁸²

Another of his activities was to ask for alms for the reconstruction of churches. He did this during three years in response to a

⁸⁰T. S. R. Boase, *St. Francis of Assisi* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 19.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 22, 23, 28.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 28, 29.

vision in which he saw God requesting him to repair His house. This was the literal interpretation that at that time could be given to such a vision. When he did this he felt that he was not accomplishing God's purpose completely because he was being fed by the clergy.⁸³

Eventually he founded his society based on absolute poverty. It was recognized by the Church. They had no concern for the following day and carried only the basic garments. His followers often included some of the most outstanding people of the community.

Francis believed that the influence of his order would be that of serving the poor and through prayer and meditation accomplishing this task rather than through learning and theology. This was for others. However, one of the greatest preachers of the time joined the order. He was Antonio de Padua. Francis called him "my Bishop," indicating his admiration for Antonio's talents.⁸⁴ Not only this, but in spite of his own limited education there are at least eleven major and eight minor works from his pen.⁸⁵ This makes for an interesting combination of scholarship and service in these two leaders of the order.

Isabel of Hungary (1207-1231). Almost contemporaneous with Francis was Isabel of Hungary. She was betrothed when she was but four years old. Her marriage was consummated when she was thirteen and her husband twenty. Three children were born to this couple: Herman, Sophia and Gertrudis. Her husband died in his youth in one of the crusades. She became regent and administrator of the kingdom. Doing this

⁸³Ibid., pp. 28, 33.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 97.

⁸⁵Paul Sabatier, *Vie de S. Francois D'Assise* (Paris: Libraire Fischbacher, 1894), pp. xxxix, xl, xlii.

she was accused of being desolute and lavish, since she gave to the poor. Because of this, Henry, her brother-in-law, took her place. She was then thrown out of the palace, and those that she had favored treated her severely. During three years she was without a home and without friends. She lived in a hut and begged for her sustenance. When she was restored to her rightful position she gave her rights and her titles to her son. Free from other obligations she continued her work of helping the poor. She became so well known for her deeds that Gregory IX canonized her in 1235, only four years after her death.⁸⁶

XIV. SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to present some of the early Christian writings that have to do with poverty. In a special way, it has been the purpose of this chapter to present those that could have inspired Spanish preachers.

Apostolic Fathers and Apologists. This section is the most complete section in the chapter. It is outstanding to note that there was a sincere concern for the poor at this time. They considered it proper to use the first fruits offering for this purpose. The poor were to present prayers of thanksgiving to God in appreciation for His providing people that cared for them.

However, they did not necessarily represent apostolic thinking. It is wise to remember that not even the "Apostolic Fathers" belong to

⁸⁶"Isabel de Hungría (Santa)," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, XXVIII (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958), pp. 2014, 2015.

the apostolic age, but to the second century. They really are a "considerable distance from New Testament thought."⁸⁷

It is also interesting to notice that they repeated each other's ideas. At times this was done even ignoring New Testament principles. This could indicate that at times they were better acquainted with what each other was saying than with the New Testament.

It is also interesting to notice that ministers were supported from the funds kept for the support of orphans and widows. At first, these ministers were prophets in the church.

Third, Fourth and Fifth Centuries. During this period the church continued its concern for its poor. Chrysostom and Augustine probably the most outstanding speakers in favor of the poor at this time. Constantinople had 50,000 poor. The total Christian population was 100,000. Chrysostom spoke so much on this issue that he was known as "St. John the Beggar."⁸⁸

Augustine was not the first one to raise his voice in favor of the poor in North Africa. Tertullian (d. c. 220) had written concerning the safekeeping of funds for the poor as mentioned by Justin Martyr. This was sufficient for pagans to speak of the love that Christians had for each other.⁸⁹ Cyprian (d. 258), Bishop of Carthage, wrote a treatise "On Good Works and Alms." In this he indicates that "good

⁸⁷Oscar Cullman, *The Early Church* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), p. 96.

⁸⁸Johannes Quasten, *Patrologia*, II (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1968), 505.

⁸⁹Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 39,1-7.

works, like baptism, provide once more God's mercy."⁹⁰ These are brief statements. Longer statements and even sermons from this period were abbreviated in the chapter.

Thus, throughout Christendom, there was an interest in providing for the poor in antiquity. This interest persisted at least until the year 600 of our era.

The Middle Ages. There probably were more Christian poor at this time than in antiquity, and this, in a Christian world. The Church did not manifest much interest in them at this time. Anselm and Thomas Aquinas did not have much to say on this subject. On the other hand, Francis of Assisi and Isabel of Hungary sacrificed themselves to the uttermost for them.

Slavery. Christians were not in favor of slavery, but they did not consider the abolishment of slavery to be the final objective of their ministry. They did work for a better treatment of slaves. They considered slaves to be equal to others in the church. Sometimes they even promoted them to the position of teachers.⁹¹ Outside the church the master had the obligation to treat his slave decently and to give him the gospel. This would appear once more later in history.

⁹⁰Cyprian, *De Opere et Eleemosynis* 2.

⁹¹H. D. M. Spence-Jones, *The Early Christians in Rome* (London: Methuen & Co, 1910), pp. 134-136.

PART II
HISPANIC BACKGROUND
FOR PREACHING ON SOCIAL ISSUES

CHAPTER VI

A BRIEF SKETCH OF SPANISH AND LATIN AMERICAN SOCIAL HISTORY

Sermons are not preached in a vacuum. They are preached within the framework of the lives of those that hear them. They are preached within the framework of a definite period in the history of humanity. Spanish sermons were preached within the framework of the history of Spain and Latin America.

The English speaking world does not know too much of the history of Spain and Latin America. With the exception of some phases of the history of Spain during the XVIth Century and of the history of Mexico, the rest is virtually ignored. Except for stating that these nations belong to the "third world" or are "underdeveloped," little or nothing more is known of their social history.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to present a complete social history of Spain and Latin America. Several studies fulfill this mission. However, it is the purpose of this chapter to present sufficient information concerning their social history to make the understanding of the sermons to be presented below much easier.

Most national histories are studied independent of other nations except as major issues develop between two countries. This is unfair, because no nation is completely isolated. Spain made an effort to isolate its colonies from the rest of the world. It had a high degree of success in this effort. Space will not allow much of a consideration of outside influences on Spain and the colonies in this chapter.

Most of this chapter will consider poverty and slavery in Spain

and Latin America. By and large both Spain and Spanish speaking countries have shown much hospitality to foreigners as tourists. The same situation does not exist when these foreigners become permanent residents on their soil. This is due to the unpleasant experience of foreign domination, foreign troops and forced arbitration. The exception to this are the countries in the southern tip of South America.

I. ROMAN SPAIN

As with most primitive peoples, Spain originally had mostly a communal organization.¹ However, even at that time there were slaves, since the only persons the Romans found alive in their conquest of Numantia were some slaves (333 B.C.).²

Distribution of the Land. One of the consequences of the Roman conquest of Spain was that the land that had been held as common property was distributed among the conquerors.³ This is the basis for what was later done by Spanish conquerors.

Another inheritance from this period was the division of society into patricians and plebs. This does not mean that it was not divided before this time, but it became more pronounced than ever.

The Poor. The great Roman latifundists absorbed most of the small farmers. This means that the plebeians that remained in the land

¹J. Vicens Vives, *Historia Social y Económica de España y América*, I (Barcelona: Editorial Taide, 1957), 84.

²Ricardo Vera Tornell, *Historia de la Civilización*, I (Barcelona: Sopena, 1958), 376.

³Vicens Vives, loc. cit.

often had to work a field that did not belong to them. At the same time, those that went to the cities and became artisans had to pass down their trades to their descendants.⁴

Slaves. As in other parts of the Roman Empire, slaves had no rights in Roman Spain.⁵ They were regarded as things and possessions of their masters. It is interesting to notice that at least since this time there were black slaves in Spain that were brought from Africa.⁶ Their lot improved as time went on through the influence of Christianity.⁷ This was also the case in other parts of the Empire.

II. VISIGOTHIC SPAIN

Spanish history differs completely from that of the rest of Western Europe. However, it was similar during the first three centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire. The Vandals dominated the peninsula during the first decades and the Visigoths between 484 and 711.⁸ At this time they lost the northern part of their dominions to the Franks and the southern part to the Arabs.⁹

Like most of the invaders of the Roman Empire the Visigoths were not pagans but Arians. Even their kings were Arians before the conversion of Recaredo to Catholicism in 587 or 589. The majority of his

⁴Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española*, I (Barcelona: Sucesores de Juan Gili, 1928), 130.

⁵Vicens Vives, I, 97. ⁶Altamira y Crevea, I, 128. ⁷Ibid.

⁸Christfried Coler, *Diccionario por Fechas de Historia Universal* (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1965), p. 65.

Vera Tornell, I, 521.

subjects remained faithful to the Arian religion until the fall of his Kingdom.¹⁰

Distribution of the land. As in Roman times, great extensions of land remained in the hand of the few. At least two thirds of the land that belonged to the Patricians went to the Goths.¹¹ The former system remained unchanged, only under new management.

Slaves. Slavery continued under the Visigoths. An individual could become a slave in any of five ways: 1) By inheritance, being the descendant of a slave on either side of his family. 2) As a prisoner of war. 3) Because of not paying his debts. 4) As a punishment for different crimes. 5) By selling himself into slavery.¹² It is interesting to notice that the first three existed since Old Testament times. However, there was not the same consideration of slaves. It was not as easy to get out of slavery as in Biblical times among God's people.

There were two kinds of slaves: personal and territorial.¹³ Personal slaves had an easier lot. Territorial slaves belonged to the land. They could not leave it. When it was sold, they were sold with it. This type of slavery was one of the Roman institutions that remained in Visigothic Spain.¹⁴

III. ARABIAN SPAIN

Spain was invaded by the Arabs in 711. This conquest and settlement, at least over part of Spanish soil, lasted until 1492. However,

¹⁰Altamira y Crevea, I, 189, 190, 211. ¹¹Ibid., I, 205.

¹²Vicens Vives, I, 140. ¹³Ibid., I, 141. ¹⁴Ibid., I, 247, 141.

it can be considered that their power began to decline between 1100 and 1200.

Because of this, Spain was completely different from the rest of Europe during this period, which covers most of the Middle Ages. Hills goes so far as to say that as a result of this experience Spain did not have any Middle Ages at all.¹⁵ He also states that Spain had in 711 the most advanced legal code of all of Europe.¹⁶ Vicens Vives adds that during this period Spain enjoyed a prosperity unknown at the other European courts and in the countryside. This prosperity was noticeable in agriculture, cattle raising, industry and commerce.¹⁷

The Rich. It was now the turn of the Arabs to enjoy the greatest degree of wealth in Spain. It was enjoyed most of all by their nobility, even though they had the equivalent to the knights of the rest of Europe who while wealthy, did not enjoy such a degree of wealth as the nobles and heroes.¹⁸

The Poor. Hills claims that there was not too much difference between the rich and the poor in Spain at this time.¹⁹ This must have been the situation during the first phase of Arab dominion. Eventually there were people so poor that they had to cultivate other peoples' land. These were called "possessors."²⁰ Together with freed slaves they had

¹⁵George Hills, *Spain* (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 19.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁷Vicens Vives, I, 176.

¹⁸Altamira y Crevea, I, 302.

¹⁹Hills, p. 37.

²⁰Altamira y Crevea, I, 302.

to cultivate lands for wages.²¹ Actually, because of their poverty, they often led a communal life.²²

The Mozarabians. These were Christian persons who worked for the Arabs, sometimes in their fields, practically as servants, but without being converted to their religion. They were poor, but at the same time they retained some degree of freedom. In order for this to be possible, among other things, they had to live outside of the walls of the cities.²³ They spoke their own kind of Arabian which was mixed with many Latin words.²⁴ This language was known as *Aljamía*.²⁴

Not all of the Mozarabians were poor or without any influence among their conquerors. Umar ben Gondizalvo became a poet minister of Al-Muq-tadir of Zaragoza.²⁵

Slaves. At this time there were four kinds of slaves. Besides the two mentioned above in the Visigothic period, there were slaves that belonged to the state and others that belonged to the church. Some slaves became slaves voluntarily, others because they were prisoners of war, and still others because they descended from slaves. However, a new source of slaves appeared in Spain at this time, and this was the persons that were sold as slaves by slave merchants.²⁶ The poorer slaves, as the poor considered above, shared their meals.²⁷ On the other hand, the eunuchs were slaves and they were not poor at all.²⁸

²¹Ibid., I, 307.

²²Ibid., I, 326.

²³Vicens Vives, I, 173, 174.

²⁴Ibid., I, 280.

²⁵Ibid., I, 206.

²⁶Altamira y Crevea, I, 302-306.

²⁷Ibid., I, 326.

²⁸Ibid., I, 265.

By and large the lot of the slaves improved considerably under the Arabs. "Under Islam it was not supposed that the state of slavery made the servant to become a thing. The master did not have the right of life or death over his slave. He could not punish excessively either."²⁹

Liberation of Slaves. Even before the period of Reconquest, some slaves sought their freedom. This was done through insurrection, flight and manumission. In the small Christian kingdoms even between the VIIIth and XIth Centuries liberation "was often produced by the influence and in a special way *by the preaching* of the Christian Church."³⁰ It would be outstanding if some of these sermons could be found. However, it is outstanding that they are mentioned in history.

It is also interesting to notice that social preaching had its effect at this early date. Thus, both among the Arabs and Christians there was a liberalization of slavery at this time.

IV. THE RECONQUEST

The reconquest started almost as soon as the Arabs had finished conquering the peninsula. As the Christians fled, they started establishing small kingdoms in the mountains of northern Spain. Vicens Vives indicates that those who loved liberty went to the West of the country.³¹ By 801 Barcelona had been reconquered in the Northeast. Ludovic Pius, leader and king of the reconquerors, distributed lands

²⁹Luis G. de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, I (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1952), bk. 2, p. 166.

³⁰Altamiray Crevea, I, 306. ³¹Vicens Vives, I, 284.

among his warriors.³² This custom was seen among the Romans. Now it was part of the Reconquest of Spain from its inception. This is very important in the consideration of the conquest of America below.

Spanish kingdoms soon started gaining their independence and expanding their territories. By 1035 from West to East along the northern coast of Spain and in the Pyrenees all the way to the East coast were found the kingdoms of León, Castilla, Navarra, Aragón and Barcelona or Cataluña. Other kingdoms appeared on the scene and some were absorbed by 1200. The new kingdom was that of Portugal and Aragón. It absorbed Barcelona. There had also been an expansion of their territories. By 1491 Castilla had absorbed León and become the largest of the Spanish kingdoms.³³ Naturally, this was considered an "honorable war." The enslavement of the conquered was also considered a justified act in this conflict.³⁴

With a prolonged war such as this the economy had to suffer. A country that had prospered in different lines of endeavor began to rely mainly on agriculture on the Spanish side. This naturally meant that there were hard times and prosperous times.³⁵ On the Arabian side the original rulers had to seek help from North Africa. These eventually took their place. This did not help the situation at all.³⁶

Nobility. Because of the war a new nobility appeared on the

³²Altamira y Crevea, I, 337.

³³Stephen Clissold, *Spain* (New York: Walter, 1969), p. 49.

³⁴J. H. Elliot, *La España Imperial, 1469-1716* (Barcelona: Vicens Vives, 1965), p. 58.

³⁵Vicens Vives, I, 226, 319. ³⁶Vera Tornell, I, 566.

scene. These were the Arab warriors that had come from North Africa. Among other things, they were granted large tracts of land.³⁷ This contributed to their living a life of ease and failing in their mission of halting the reconquest by the Spaniards.

The Poor. With a war going on, the poor were even poorer. German sociologists call them semi-free.³⁸ Day laborers had a jerarchical system among themselves, considering a poor person that had beasts or a cart to be superior to the rest.³⁹

The Mudejars. This group is not as well known as the Mozarabians. It represents the opposite of them. As the Christian kings strengthened their territories, some Arabs remained behind to serve them. These were the Mudejars. During the period under consideration they were able to keep their religion and customs.⁴⁰ They were treated well as a sign of reciprocity for the treatment that the Arabs had given the Mozarabians.⁴¹ Even some legislation favorable to them was passed during the XIIIth and XIV Centuries.⁴²

Slaves. On the other hand, those that opposed the reconquest of Spain were enslaved⁴³ and at times treated with severity.⁴⁴ This was to be expected, since they owed their position as slaves to the fact that they were prisoners of war, and not only that, they

³⁷Altamira y Crevea, I, 408. ³⁸Vicens Vives, I, 314.

³⁹Ibid., I, 314.

⁴⁰Ibid., I, 206.

⁴¹Altamira y Crevea, I, 423.

⁴²Ibid., II, 19.

⁴³Elliot, p. 68.

⁴⁴Altamira y Crevea, II, 19.

represented the alien culture and religion that had cominated Spain for so many centuries.

As Christians gained power they made laws forbidding Jews and Arabs from having Christian slaves. Alfonso X, el Sabio, from Castille was one of those that proclaimed such a law.⁴⁵

The Arabs brought some black slaves from Africa to Spain. These were found in Seville, Valencia and the province of Huelva in South-western Spain, bordering with Portugal.⁴⁶ Alfonso V, of Portugal, had a traffic of black slaves in 1441. A few years later, in 1475, Spanish suthorities found it necessary to have a black judge. He was John of Valladolid, and he was called the "Black Count."⁴⁷

Liberation of Slaves. As noted above, Jews and Arabs were not allowed to own Christian slaves. Some slaves became Christian in order to gain their freedom.⁴⁸ It was not always possible to grant them this freedom, especially if they were not bought in Spain or if they were not of Spanish ancestry. It is recorded that the King of Barcelona tried to free some Greek slaves held by Jews in 1315.⁴⁹

Actually, slaves continued to acquire more freedom. Those that had been considered to be part of the land in which they lived by this time had almost complete personal liberty and partial economic freedom. At the same time, there were fewer personal slaves than before.⁵⁰

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Eugene K. Keefe, *Area Handbook for Spain* (Washington: American University Press, 1976), p. 118.

⁴⁷Juan Angel Silén, *Historia de la Nación Puertorriqueña* (Río Piedras, PR: Edil, 1973), pp. 46, 53.

⁴⁸Altamira y Crevea, II, 19. ⁴⁹Vicens Vives, II, 142. ⁵⁰Ibid.

This freedom had been partially acquired through their own insurrections⁵¹ while the nation as a whole was struggling to regain its territory. However, much credit for this is given to the writings of clerics and to the action of the Church. By this time, slaves were considered to be human beings, and there really was little difference between them and the poor in rural communities.⁵²

Jews. The Jews enjoyed much prosperity under the Arabs. Some even became city mayors.⁵³ In the reconquest they became the intermediaries between the Arabs and the Spaniards.⁵⁴

Ghettos. It has been noted that the Mozarabians lived outside of the walls of the cities. As the Spaniards reconquered their country they established ghettos for the Jews, the Arabs and even the Mozarabians. This happened toward the middle of the XIVth Century.⁵⁵

Mixed Marriages. Under these circumstances it was only natural to have many mixed marriages. Many outstanding Spaniards, even among those who came to America, had mixed blood. Saint Teresa de Avila and Juan Luis Vives were of Jewish extraction.⁵⁶ There were many marriages between Spanish and Arab nobility.⁵⁷ A Spanish prince even married a black slave because of her education.⁵⁸ If this happened among the nobility, it would happen even more among the masses. If this happened

⁵¹Ibid., II, 16.

⁵²Ibid., I, 319.

⁵³Ibid., I, .

⁵⁴Ibid., I, 408.

⁵⁵Vicens Vives, II, 50-64.

⁵⁶Keefe, p. 113.

⁵⁷Altamira y Crevea, I, 262.

⁵⁸Ibid., I, 288.

lawfully, it must have also happened very often in illegitimate ways. All of this means that the Spaniards that conquered America were a mixture of the original inhabitants of the peninsula with Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, Greeks, Jews, Arabs, Blacks and probably many more.

V. SPAIN IN ITS GLORY

The XVIth Century was the highest point in Spanish history. It includes the periods of the Catholic kings, of Charles V and Philip II. More specifically, it could be said that this period began in 1492 with the end of the reconquest and the discovery of America and ended in 1598 with the death of Philip II.

It is not the purpose of this study to review the historical aspect of this period. It is assumed that the major events do not have to be reviewed. It is the purpose of this study to indicate some of the major social aspects, especially those that concern poverty and slavery.

Arabs. With the fall of Granada in 1492 the Jews and the Arabs were ordered to leave the country. Many avoided this, becoming at least nominal Christians. As "New Christians," they were not trusted. Some of them could prove at least partial Spanish ancestry. Some even managed to come to America. Díaz-Paja indicates that even Cervantes agreed with this policy.⁵⁹ However, this can be better understood in the light of the fact that he spent several years in a North African prison.

Moriscos. During all of the XVIth Century there were problems

⁵⁹Fernando Díaz-Paja, *Spain* (New York: Leon Amiel, 1977), p. 55.

the Arabs that remained in Spain. Even armed intervention was required. Their position was one that was not too distant from slavery, lowering the wages of the working class. Since they were mainly vegetarians, they could live off the land. When they were finally expelled, a problem arose concerning the ownership of their lands. These ended belonging to some of the Lords who received one fifth of the harvests.⁶⁰

Laborers. A concern for a form of social security began at this time. Luis Vives indicated that "whoever want to eat must work; and whoever wants to work must find a place to work."⁶¹ Some brotherhoods of mutual assistance began to be organized at this time.⁶²

Vagrants and Gypsies. Vagrancy started in Cataluña in 1447 and in Castille in 1462.⁶³ Spain had lost much of its population because of the expulsion of Arabs and Jews. Many more were being lost to the American colonies. It was not very hard to live off the land. Cervantes indicates that even the children of the rich became vagrants. Some were expelled with the Arabs to Africa, only to return to inspire others to lead this kind of life. This is found in the argument of the first pages of his *Ilustre Fregona*.⁶⁴

It was also a time in which gypsies roamed throughout the land.

⁶⁰Juan Beneyto, *Historia Social de España y de Hispanoamérica* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1961), pp. 91-193, 206.

⁶¹Vicens Vives, III, 134.

⁶²Ibid., III, 135.

⁶³Beneyto, p. 210.

⁶⁴Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra, *Obras Completas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1967), pp. 921-923.

They lived in tents outside of the cities and lived from what they stole and from fortune telling. Cervantes dedicates to them one of his most beautiful novels, *La Gitanilla*.⁶⁵ The possibility also exists that they descended from Jews and/or Arabs who in this way could practice their own way of life.

Whatever the case may be, these were ways in which an individual could remain free even in Spain. Both ways of life persist in Spain and in Spanish America to this day.

Slaves. The Arabs became the slaves of the Spaniards at this time. This was considered to be a justified result of their war. There were also black slaves, but these were more plentiful in Portugal, where there was a regular trade of slaves. Almost all of the agricultural work in Portugal was performed by black slaves at this time.⁶⁶

VI. CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF SPANISH AMERICA

For all practical purposes it can be said that most of what was to become Spanish America had been conquered and settled by 1600. Even from an ecclesiastical point of view it can be said that "by 1620 the ecclesiastical organization of America was practically complete."⁶⁷

The conquest of America could be considered to have been a continuation of the reconquest of Spain. It began with the conquest of the Canary Islands even before the discovery of America. This relationship can be seen when it is considered that the majority of the conquistadores

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 774-805.

⁶⁶Beneyto, pp. 205, 206.

⁶⁷Enrique Dussel, *History and the Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976), p. 92.

came from the lands that were most recently liberated from Arab domination.⁶⁸

The Canary Islands and Slavery. These islands had been conquered by Spain shortly before the discovery of America. In 1490 it was considered to be both legally and religiously justified to enslave the aborigines of these islands just as the Arabs had been enslaved.⁷⁰ However, it was soon recognized that there was a big difference between these people and the Arabs. The inhabitants of these islands had not had the opportunity to accept Christianity, and the Arabs had knowingly rejected Christianity. Enslavement was considered to be a very cruel punishment for mere ignorance.

Their lands, however, were placed in the hands of the conqueror in trust. Some of the natives were also placed in their trust so that they would educate them in their language, customs and religion. The portions of land entrusted to different individuals were called *encomiendas*, trusts.

The Conquerors and the Indians in Spanish America. When Columbus discovered America he did not ask the natives the name of the land in which he had disembarked. Rather, he gave a name to that land. This indicated his superiority over the natives of the land. It also indicated that the country he represented had dominion over them.⁷¹ He took some to Spain, where they became slaves. However, they had been freed by 1500 because they were not in the same situation as the Arabs.

⁶⁸Beneyto, p. 232.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 229, 230.

⁷⁰Silén, p. 51

⁷¹Dussel, p. 78.

Freedom under these circumstances was not very easy. The Indians that were friendly to the Spaniards and accepted the Catholic religion were not to be enslaved. Together with the land they were entrusted to a family, but not officially enslaved. They were to be cared for by that family, but not to come under his jurisdiction.⁷² The settlers did not even receive possession of the land. They had its dominion, but it belonged to the crown.⁷³

The Indians that were not friendly and attacked Spanish settlements, or were cannibals, could be enslaved. Many settlers enslaved them in practice, but many friars were opposed to this. The struggle between the friars and the settlers will be seen below in relation to some of the sermons that were preached.

Black Slavery in Spanish America. This situation motivated the importation of Blacks as slaves. By 1650 nearly 200,000 had been brought. Most of these had been sent to Mexico.⁷⁴ In 1608 Pedro Clo-
ver began baptizing them in Colombia⁷⁵ and the great struggle began. It was not easy for them to justify that Christians should enslave other Christians. Asians also came into Mexico from the Philipines. These were called Chinese.⁷⁶ Even though they were poor, it cannot be proved that they were enslaved. From their living in Mexico came such phrases as *china poblana*, used to describe one of the regional dresses. In spite of this, there was no liberty, but it was worse in other colonies.

⁷²Beneyto, p. 235.

⁷³Silén, p. 44.

⁷⁴John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1964, II, 206.

⁷⁵Beneyto, p. 234.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

VII. SPAIN IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Charles II died without leaving a legitimate heir to the throne. Soon after his death there was the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1704).⁷⁷ As with so many other Spanish civil wars since that date, there was much outside pressure and influence in this war.⁷⁸ In this occasion it was French. Eventually Spain lost its European dominions and was governed by kings related to the French crown. Philip V (1683-1746; king 1700-1746), a grandson of Louis XIV is considered to be the founder of the House of Bourbon.⁷⁹ During his reign the *cortes* met for the last time.⁸⁰ The best king in this period was Charles III (1759-1788), under whom agriculture, trade and industry prospered. There was much building of highways, irrigation systems, arsenals and ships. The population finally began to increase. The Inquisition was restricted and the Jesuits were expelled from the country.⁸¹

During the XVIth Century, Spain influenced the rest of Europe. During the next two centuries, Spain was influenced by other countries, especially by France. All of this affected preaching in both countries. It also affected other activities. Philip V built a palace that tried to be a copy of that of Versailles. It was called "*El Palacio del Buen Retiro*."⁸² However, Spanish literary figures were not deceived concerning the condition of the country. Like Cervantes a century earlier, Calderón y de la Barca presented it in his play "*La Vida es Sueño*."

⁷⁷Vera Tornell, II, 135.

⁷⁸Díaz-Paja, p. 67.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Vera Tornell, II, 174.

⁸¹Ibid., II, 173, 174.

⁸²Hills, p. 60.

Spain considered itself to have the greatest army, much gold, and to be the defender of the faith, but all of this was only a dream.⁸³

Vagrants and Gypsies. Both groups increased during this period. This brought an increase in the general misery of the country, especially noticeable in 1665. There were even armed revolts as a result of this in Barcelona in 1700. There were not only Spanish, but also French vagrants.⁸⁴ People from other countries were also attracted to Spain only to lead a life of vagrancy. After all, Spain had "its Indies."⁸⁵ A solution to this problem began to emerge around the middle of the Eighteenth Century in technical education and industrialization.⁸⁶

Moriscos. These people did not have it easy in Spain at this time. Around 2,000 of them were sold as slaves in Cádiz in 1680. A little later they were forced to become Christians, even though some members of the clergy did not agree with this. If they fled they could face imprisonment, exile and even death by hanging. If they were free they could not live in Granada or near the coast. They were limited in the type of work they could pursue.⁸⁷ It is interesting to notice that many female slaves were purchased by the clergy.⁸⁸ The Moriscos were expelled in 1712⁸⁹ and once more, their expulsion was considered to be responsible for the decadence of Spain.⁹⁰ To a certain extent this could have seemed to be possible, since the type of work they performed

⁸³Díaz-Paja, p. 83.

⁸⁴Altamira y Crevea, III, 490-498.

⁸⁵Beneyto, p. 212.

⁸⁶Altamira y Crevea, IV, 258-260.

⁸⁷Ibid., IV, 206, 207.

⁸⁸Beneyto, p. 206.

⁸⁹Vicens Vives, IV, 131.

⁹⁰Altamira y Crevea, III, 504.

was not acceptable to Spaniards. These had to learn to know how to do it, and to accept it as honorable.

Black Slaves. There were not too many of these in Spain at this time. Many of them were already free. Their lot was better than that of their brothers in America. They performed only humble tasks and domestic services. Around 1794 they were permitted to work only as peons in Cádiz.⁹¹

VIII. SPANISH AMERICA IN THE HEIGHT OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The height of the colonial period was between 1600 and 1800. All of the socio-economic conditions that began during the conquest were strengthened. By and large the colonies sent their products to Spain. From here they were sold to the rest of Europe. There was relatively little commerce between the colonies.

Social Classes. The descendants of the conquerors had great extensions of land. Together with the rulers sent from Spain they formed the upper classes.⁹² The mestizos became the artisans of the land. Some of the moriscos managed to come to America and identify themselves with the mestizos. Some artisans became wealthy.⁹³ The Indians were the lowest class in the land. Generally they were not enslaved. However, the Araucans rebelled in Chile in 1598 and they were enslaved for approximately half a century.⁹⁴

⁹¹Vicens Vives, IV, 130.

⁹²Ibid., IV, 378, 384, 385.

⁹³Ibid., III, 400.

⁹⁴Ibid., III, 460.

Black Slavery. Blacks continued to be imported to serve as slaves. In Venezuela they worked on cacao plantations. Cacao was exported from here to Mexico in exchange for silver.⁹⁵ This commercial interchange between two colonies was the exception rather than the rule.

In colonies in which mining was the main source of income, slavery did not flourish, even though it existed in a limited way. Humboldt made a census in 1800 of the population of Spanish America, and he figured less than 5% of the population to be Black slaves.⁹⁶ Even in Puerto Rico, an official census was made in 1776, and it indicated less than 9% of slaves in an economy that depended on sugar cane.⁹⁷

The lot of slaves was not easy. Their owner could do anything he pleased with them as with any other thing in his possession. They were severely punished until 1789, when for religious, humanitarian and political reasons of state it was forbidden to treat them severely. Married slaves had a room to themselves, single slaves lived in barracks. Their production was limited when compared to that of free workers. It was noticed that slaves produced two thirds of that which was produced by the others. This also contributed to their eventual freedom. Once they were free, they were limited socially and economically.⁹⁸ Some slaves fled and lived in the mountains. They became vagrants and bandits, as in Spain. These were called *cimarrones*.⁹⁹ Under these circumstances their participation in the gruggle for independence is not surprising.

⁹⁵Lynch, p. 195.

⁹⁶Altamira y Crevea, IV, 290.

⁹⁷Silén, pp. 56, 57.

⁹⁸Vicens Vives, IV, 427-432.

⁹⁹Ibid., III, 462; Silén, pp. 56, 57.

IX. SPAIN AND SPANISH AMERICA IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

This period is better known than those considered above. Because of limitations of space and of subject matter to the social aspects, relatively little will be said.

It has been said concerning Spain tht the rich became richer and the poor poorer during this period. As elsewhere, there appeared the new rich. These included the speculators, manufacturers, land owners, professional and military people. There also appeared a new bureaucracy.¹⁰⁰ The same thing happened in Spanish America as well as in other places.

Spain. At the beginning of this period Spain was invaded and ruled by Mapoleon's forces. The lack of organization affected Spanish America more than Spain. A gubernatorial commission saw the danger and made the following statement which is almost prophetic in Valencia the 16th of July, 1808:

But there is an essential point, ... and this is the conservation of our Americas. ... What authority will they obey? ... Not depending directly on any authority, each colony will establish its own independent government as has been done in Spain. The distance, the situation, the riches and the natural inclination to independence that they have may make them brake the tie, so to speak, that joined them to the mother country.¹⁰¹

Even though there was no slavery at this time, there was much poverty. This was not only an individual experience, but also the collective experience of the country. It began to depend more on tourism

¹⁰⁰Hills, pp. 103, 104.

¹⁰¹Fernando Díaz Plaja, *Otra Historia de España* (Barcelona: Plaza & Jones, 1976), pp. 463, 464.

and on agriculture. As recently as the early 1960s more than 60% of the provinces could be considered underdeveloped.¹⁰²

Spanish America. The wars of independence were led mostly by American-born Spaniards. Thus, the social structures remained much as they were before independence. The main difference is that independence brought about the abolition of slavery. In Puerto Rico this came as the result of one of the intents of independence.¹⁰³

Internationally, Bolívar tried to unify that which had not been unified under Spain. He died in sadness, stating that "the three greatest fools of the world are Jesus Christ, don Quijote and myself." This was due to the great contrast between his dreams and his achievements.¹⁰⁴

X. SUMMARY

Even today there are many similarities between Spain and the Spanish American countries. An exception to this in some aspects can be made regarding the countries on the southern tip of South America.

Since Roman times, land was distributed among the soldiers, especially the officers of the army. This was the case almost in every war of the Spanish forces. It is true that since the reconquest these lands were officially placed in trust of these officers, but eventually they became the property of their descendants. These became the rich and mighty in all of these countries.

Strangers were treated cordially and respectfully, but never

¹⁰²Michael Perceval, *The Spaniards: How they Live and Work* (New York: Frederick & Praeger, 1969), p. 86.

¹⁰³Silén, p. 59.

¹⁰⁴Díaz Plaja, p. 468.

with full trust. This is true even today. Their wealth is accepted, but once they live in the land, they are not accepted. Eventually, every effort is made for a new reconquest.

It was unlawful to enslave the aborigines that were friendly to Spain. However, in all cases they remained poor and still are poor today. Those that were enslaved became Christians and obtained their liberty, but they also are poor to this day.

There was very little commerce between the American colonies. Most commerce with Europe was through Spain. Eventually these countries became economic colonies of the United States or England. Most of their commerce today is with these countries. Very little commerce exists between the Spanish American nations.

Some new rich have appeared since the Nineteenth Century. However, they have learned from the old how to subject others to their wills. By and large they have also learned to accept their riches as something granted to them by the old aristocracy.

Both internally and externally it is necessary for a concept of love to exist. Bringing about change through the use of force will not necessarily bring about the necessary trust and love between the different segments of Spanish society.

CHAPTER VII

THE SPANISH BIBLE,
SPANISH LITERATURE AND HISPANIC PREACHING

The first section of this study dealt with the sources for preaching. These sources are the Old Testament, the New Testament and the writings of the Church Fathers. Since this study deals with Spanish preaching, it is necessary to have some understanding of the history of the Bible in Spanish and of the influence of the Bible on Spanish literature. There should also be some understanding of the influence of preaching on Spanish literature. This is especially true concerning the Golden Century of Spanish Literature, roughly 1575 to 1675.

I. THE SPANISH BIBLE

A serious study of the history of the Spanish Bible has not been written to this date. Something more important that remains to be made is a study of the sources for the different Spanish versions of the Bible. Several articles appeared in the magazine of the Bible Society in Mexico. These have been collected by Hazael T. Marroquín and provide some interesting, though not scholarly information. More recently Enrique Fernández y Fernández wrote a book on the Protestant Bibles of the Sixteenth Century which is quite scholarly. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo wrote a treatise on Spanish heterodox persons that has some statements on Protestant Bibles.

A Visigothic Bible? As noted above, the Visigoths were not pagans, they were Arians. They had their own language and their own

writing.¹ This indicates the possibility that they could have been the first ones to bring a Bible or portions of the Bible to Spain in a language other than Latin.

The Bible in Aljamía. As indicated in the previous chapter, this was the language spoken by the Mozarabians. It was Arabic with many Latin words. It is interesting to notice that one of them, Juan Hispalense, is credited with translating the Bible to their language the Ninth Century of our era.²

Earliest Biblical Portions in Spanish. "The earliest beginnings of the English Bible are apparently to be dated about the middle of the seventh century."³ As noted above, the earliest date for a non-Latin Bible in Spain is two centuries later. The date for the earliest portions of the Bible in Spanish is unknown. Alejandro Clifford claims that these were in existence as early as the year 1000.⁴ This is an approximate date, since these manuscripts are undated.⁵

Don Jayme I, the Conqueror, king of Aragón, made a decree which prohibited both laymen and clergy from reading or possessing the Bible

¹Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española*, I (Barcelona: Sucesores de Juan Geli, 1928), 213.

²Ibid., I, 281.

³Ira Maurice Price, *The Ancestry of Our English Bible* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1956), p. 221.

⁴Alejandro Clifford, "Antiguas Versiones Cristianas de la Biblia en España," *Versiones Castellanas de la Biblia*, ed. Hazael T. Marroquín (México: El Faro, 1959), p. 29.

⁵Henry C. Thompson, "Las Versiones Españolas de la Biblia," Ibid., p. 17.

in the vernacular languages. They could possess it in dead languages, but not in the Spanish of their times.⁶ This decree was promulgated in Terragona in February of 1233.⁷ This indicates the existence of Biblical portions in Spanish before 1233.

Earliest Old Testament in Spanish. The first translation of the Old Testament into the Spanish language was that of David Quimche, a Spanish-Jew. Nothing remains of this translation.⁸

The Version of Alfonso el Sabio. "The entire Bible was complete in its English dress before the death of Wycliffe in 1384. ... This is the first complete English Bible."⁹ However, several authors indicate that more than a century before this date there was already a Spanish translation of the whole Bible. It was a literal translation from the Vulgate that appeared in 1280.¹⁰ "Spain has the honor of having produced the first complete version of the Bible in a modern language. This was a translation of the Vulgate ... made by order of Alfonso el Sabio ... in 1280."¹¹ However, Fernández indicates that it "includes all of the Books of the Bible, beginning with the Pentateuch and continuing

⁶Juan C. Varetto, "Versiones Castellanas de la Biblia," Ibid., p. 66.

⁷Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, II (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe Argentina, 1951), 134, 135, 146.

⁸Clifford, in Marroquín, p. 29.

⁹Frederic Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1958), p. 276.

¹⁰Clifford, in Marroquín, p. 30.

¹¹A. R. Miles, *Introducción Popular al Estudio de las Sagradas Escrituras* (San José, C. R.: Caribe, 1957), pp. 107, 108.

on until the first chapters of the Gospel of Luke."¹² This is a Bible with commentaries. Later he states that all of the Bible is found, evidently in other manuscripts. The most important of these is from the Fifteenth Century and is found in El Escorial, in Madrid.¹³ It was prepared for the enrichment of the Spanish language, "being persuaded that the faithful would not take away from their hands that book, where words of salvation truth and eternal life were written."¹⁴

Other Early Spanish Versions. There were other Spanish versions before the Reformation. The most famous of these is *The Bible of the House of Alba*, translated by Moisés de Arragel, a Jewish Rabbi.¹⁵ It appeared in its final form June 2, 1430.¹⁶

The Sixteenth Century. Many versions of the Bible or portions of it appeared in Spanish during this century. They came from Jewish, Catholic and Protestant sources. The most important of these was that of Casiodoro de Reina. This was translated in Spain in 1569 and revised in Germany by Cipriano de Valera in 1602.

The Seventeenth Century. The Council of Trent (1545-63) prohibited reading the Bible in the vernacular. As a result, no Catholic

¹²Enrique Fernández y Fernández, *Las Biblias Castellanas del Exilio* (Miami: Caribe, 1976), p. 20.

¹³Ibid., pp. 20, 21.

¹⁴Wester E. Browning, "Las Principales Versiones de la Biblia a las Lenguas Romances," Marroquín, p. 53.

¹⁵Clifford, in Marroquín, pp. 30, 31.

¹⁶Varetto, in Marroquín, p. 66.

Versions of the Bible appeared during this century. However, contrary to general opinion, the Bible was not ignored at this time. There were many translations of portions of the Bible. Valera's work was generally ignored during this century.

The Eighteenth Century. A little known and very limited revision of the Valera version of the New Testament was printed in Amsterdam in 1708.¹⁷ Benedict XIV granted permission for the reading of the Bible in Spanish in 1757. The Inquisition did not immediately follow his leadership, but it finally granted its permission in 1782.¹⁸ This opened the way for the appearance of Scío de San Miguel's version in 1793.

The Nineteenth Century. One of the first activities of Mexican Catholics after the country gained its independence from Spain was to put out the first Spanish version of the Bible translated and printed in Spanish America. It was published between 1830 and 1833. It was a translation of a French version which at the same time was a translation of the Vulgate. It appeared in 24 volumes. A little before this, the Version of Félix Torres Amat appeared in Spain. It is the best known Catholic version of the Bible in Spanish.

Among Protestants, there were some revisions to the Valera Version. These were still minor revisions. Toward the end of the century the Versión Moderna came to light. This is one of the best Spanish versions of the Bible, but today it is out of print.

¹⁷Margarita T. Hills, "Síntesis Cronológica de las Revisiones a la Biblia Reina-Valera," Marroquín, p. 197.

¹⁸A. V. Lucero, "La Biblia y sus Versiones," Marroquín, p. 89.

The Twentieth Century. Since 1940 the Catholic Church has published many versions of the Bible in Spanish. The versions of Nácar y Colunga, Bóver y Cantera and the Jerusalem Bible stand out above the rest.

Several Protestant Bibles have been published during this century. At the beginning of the century appeared the Versión Hispano-Americana of the New Testament. Two major revisions of the Valera version have been made. That of 1909 is generally more acceptable in the churches than the one of 1960. A modern language version has just come off the press.

II. THE BIBLE AND THE GOLDEN CENTURY OF SPANISH LITERATURE

As indicated above, the Golden Century of Spanish Literature can be considered to have been between 1575 and 1675. Actually, it could be extended to 1700. This means that this period included the first part of the prohibition of translation of the Bible into Spanish.

It is interesting to notice that creativity was not completely hampered by the Inquisition. In practice, it was not always limited by the bounds of the Holy Office. "As the golden age of Spanish literature came after the law made the printing of unlicensed books punishable by death, it is hard to see wherein literature can have suffered."¹⁹

El Tratado del Apocalipsis. The appearance of this work in Mexico in 1586 illustrates this last statement. This work was prepared by Gregorio López, a hermit in Mexico City. He translated the book of

¹⁹Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), p. 424.

Revelation and commented on it. This work indicates that its author knew Greek and Hebrew, especially Hebrew. It is the first translation of a book of the Bible in the American continent.

Cervantes and the Bible. Don Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra is considered to be the father of Spanish literature. His earliest literary work was a sonnet written between 1560 and 1567. Other than that, all of his work was after the Council of Trent.²⁰ Cervantes, in contrast with most of the other Spanish writers, never became a priest. Juan Antonio Monroy wrote a book in 1962 entitled *La Biblia en el Quijote*. In this work, which he considers incomplete, he presents over three hundred Biblical references in the works of Cervantes. This investigator has found more than five hundred.

Other Spanish Writers and the Bible. Many other Spanish writers used Biblical themes in their writings. Most of these were priests. This includes such authors as Fray Luis de León and Fray Luis de Granada. Don Pedro Calderón y de la Barca used more than three thousand Biblical references in his works. Many of these were translations of major portions of the Bible. These include some of the better known texts such as John 1 and those that are not so common as Hebrews 3 and 1 Kings 3.²³

²⁰Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *Cervantes, the Life of a Genius* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), pp. 138-140.

²¹Juan Antonio Monroy, *La Biblia en el Quijote* (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1963), p. 13.

²²Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Obras Completas*, I (Madrid: Aguilar, 1959), pp. 309, 308, 1000.

The Bible in Spanish America During the Seventeenth Century.

There were other writers in Mexico that used the Bible during the Seventeenth Century. The most outstanding of these was a nun, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. After writing a reply to a sermon of Antonio Vieyra her superior asked her why she had not written more on religious topics. Her reply was that she did not do this because of fear of the Inquisition.²³ Even so, she translated in verse one third of the book of Genesis.

Another outstanding writer in New Spain was Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, nephew of the famous Spanish author Don Luis de Góngora y Argote. He used many Biblical texts in his writings. These texts indicate that he had a good command of vocabulary in the Hebrew language and even recognized that the Niphal is the passive form of the Hebrew verb.²⁵

III. THE INFLUENCE OF PREACHING ON THE WRITINGS OF CERVANTES

As indicated above, most of the writers of the Golden Century of Spanish literature were priests. Cervantes was not a priest. In his writings he indicates the effect that preaching had upon him

Many sermons are preached throughout Christendom every week. Apparently they have no effect on their listeners. The fact that they influenced the writings of Cervantes indicates that they are not preached in vain. The influence that preaching had on Cervantes is indicated in Ricard's work on Spanish religious literature. Like Monroy, he limits

²³Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Obras Completas* (México: Porrúa, 1969), p. 976.

²⁴Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Obras Históricas* (México: Porrúa, 1960), p. 248.

himself to *El Quijote*. His last chapter is entitled "Traces of Contemporary Preaching in the *Quixote*."²⁵

Among other things, Cervantes agrees with the limited influence of the preaching of his day, comparing the conversation that receives little attention to "preaching in the desert."²⁶ It is interesting to compare this statement with the preaching of John the Baptist.

At the time of Cervantes not all of the local priests were good preachers. Some of them could not preach at all. Because of this, the Dominican Order was organized as the order of preachers. During lent they became traveling preachers. Their function can be compared with that of the modern revivalist. Cervantes indicates that this type of preaching was heard by Sancho Panza in his day.²⁷

Preaching was greatly honored at this time. Cervantes indicates that a preacher spoke based on his great knowledge.²⁸ The duty of the preacher was to give advice.²⁹

Two topics seem to have made the deepest impression upon Cervantes of those that he heard preached from the pulpits of his day. The one that he mentioned most often was the brevity of life.³⁰ The other one was the purity of divine love. In this he compared the love of a knight for his damsel with the love of God. After all, the love of a knight

²⁵Robert Ricard, *Estudios de Literatura Religiosa Española* (Madrid: Gredos, 1964), pp. 264-278.

²⁶Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra, *El Quijote de la Mancha*, ii, 6, in *Obras Completas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1967), p. 1289.

²⁷*Ibid.*, ii, 5, in *ibid.* ²⁸*Ibid.*, ii, 6, in *ibid.*, p. 1292.

²⁹*Ibid.*, ii, 22, in *ibid.*, p. 1347.

³⁰*Ibid.*, ii, 7, 12, 20, in *ibid.*, pp. 1294, 1300, 1343.

in its purest expression was to have been divested of all sexual expression. God's love does not begin with any advantage for Him.³¹

How much of the rest of Cervantes' writings was inspired by the preaching of his day? The answer is beyond the scope of this study. With his knowledge and use of the Bible, much of what he wrote could have been inspired by preaching. This also is an indication that the Bible was used in preaching more than what has been formerly believed.

IV. SUMMARY

The Bible or major portions of the Bible existed in Spain in the language of its people from time immemorial. Gillis even mentions the existence of a Visigothic Bible or major portion thereof.³² The same thing happens with the Bible in Aljornía, a mixture of Arab and Latin.

Even though this can be considered more as Literature than as Biblical studies, still it is interesting to notice that major portions of the Bible were translated into Spanish during the time in which this was prohibited by the Catholic Church. The dangers were recognized, still it was done both in Spain and in Spanish America.

The Bible was used widely during this period in Spain. Cervantes quoted from it, preachers used it and influenced his life and his writings. The Bible was accessible to preachers and they used it. Their influence was very great on the nation, as seen in the writings of Cervantes.

³¹Ibid., i, 31, in *ibid.*, p. 1168.

³²Carroll O. Gillis, "Las Biblias en Español," Marroquín, p. 96.

CHAPTER VIII

FRENCH CLASSICAL PREACHING

It is not the purpose of this chapter or of this study to present a complete analysis of French classical preaching. However, it is the purpose of this chapter to indicate briefly the manner in which French classical preaching was influenced by Spanish culture and at the same time the manner in which it influenced later Spanish preaching.

I. SPANISH INFLUENCE ON FRANCE

This is something that is not considered very much in history. However, none of us live to ourselves. It was impossible for Spain not to exert influence on France during the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, especially considering its political strength during the Sixteenth Century.

Political. Louis XIII was nine years old when his father died in 1610. His mother, Mary of Medici, left him Cardinal Richelieu as a legacy as first minister of France. She also arranged for his marriage with Ana of Austria, daughter of Philip III of Spain. At the same time she arranged for the marriage of his sister Isabel with the prince of Asturias, who eventually ascended the throne of Spain as Philip IV.¹ Ana of Austria greatly influenced her son, Louis XIV. She made him a very devout Catholic like herself. As a king he heard mass daily and told

¹Ricardo Vera Tornell, *Historia de la Civilización*, II (Barcelona: Sopena, 1958), 115.

innumerable beads.² This was outstanding for a man, especially for a monarch.

Thus, the situation was that of intermarriage between brother and sister on two sides. It is impossible for the parents not to influence their children. This indicates the political influence of Spain over France and France over Spain. However, in the beginning, the influence of Spain was greater since it was more of a world power at that time. At the same time, it made Catholicism predominate in a country that had a strong Protestant minority.

Góngora. The Golden Century of Spanish literature has been considered briefly in the previous chapter. One name was purposely left out at that time. This was the name of Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561-1627).³ He left to the world the style of writing that bears his name, "Gongorism." This style is "characterized by affected metaphor and the use of strained conceits."⁴

His father was of Italian descent, however, he used his mother's surname. He was also influenced by Italian verbosity through Luis Carrillo de Sotomayor (1583-1610), a Spanish second rate poet who knew Marini and in his style wrote his poems with erudition.⁵ Góngora was tired of being considered a great poet and invented this new style.⁶

²Albert Guérard, *The Life and Death of an Ideal* (London: Benn, 1929), p. 151.

³José Rogerio Sánchez, *Historia de la Lengua y Literatura Españolas* (Madrid: Perlado, Páez & Cía., 1921), p. 253.

⁴"Gongorism," *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (New York: World, 1951), p. 623.

⁵Sánchez, p. 236.

⁶Ibid.

Cultural. Guérard indicates that "the influence of Spain at that time retarded the development of true classicism."⁷ He would blame Gongorism for this. He also indicates that even though Spain's political influence was declining, it was still very strong. Its cultural influence was even stronger during this time of political decadence. He indicates that this is natural, since the influence of Louis XIV upon the world was felt more in the time of Louis XV than in his own era.

The Spain of the period deserved to be studied: it was the Spain of *el Siglo de Oro*, ... the age of Cervantes, Alarcón, Guillén de Castro, Lope, Calderón, and also, alas! the age of Góngora and his *estilo culto*. We need hardly point out the Spanish element in Corneille, and even in Maurice; in lesser men like Rotrou, it was even more pronounced. It was not limited to the choice of subjects - *Le Cid*, *Le Menteur*, *don Sanche d'Aragon*, *don Juan*; or to the favor enjoyed by certain forms, like the tragi-comedy and the cloak-and-sword drama; it revealed itself in a spirit of haughtiness and defiance, of grave punctilious courtesy, of hypersensitive honour, of flamboyant daring and braggadocio, which is very far from classic reasonableness.⁸

All of this indicates that Spain had great political and cultural influence over France during the Seventeenth Century. No dates are given, but it can be safely assumed that this influence lasted at least until 1650 or 1660.

II. FRENCH CLASSICAL PREACHERS

The following are only brief biographical sketches of the lives of the four greatest classical preachers of this period. Emphasis will be placed on any indications of some indebtedness on their part to Spanish culture and on their preaching on social issues.

Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704). Bossuet is probably the

⁷Guérard, p. 142.

⁸Ibid., pp. 142, 143.

best known of these preachers. In his youth he discovered a copy of the Scriptures in his home and interrupted a conversation on politics of his uncles in order to read them portions of the book of Isaiah. As a preacher he is said to have been persuasive and it is indicated that few were superior to him in classical elegance.⁹ Thus, a combination of Biblical knowledge and classical elegance made him the great preacher that he was. This combination goes back to Spanish classical literature.

He was very much concerned with the inequality that existed in the economic realm. Even though this happened fifty years before the advent of socialism, it can be considered that the concern of people like Bossuet did much to bring about this reform in the world.¹⁰

One of his sermons that has survived is on "The Eminent Dignity of the Poor in the Church." In this sermon he spoke of Chrysostom's preference to live in a city of poor people rather than in a city of rich people. The church is the city of the poor. He indicated that Jesus' ministry was for the poor. He also mentioned that the poor had been chosen by God to be rich in faith.¹¹ In his conclusion he praised the man that is concerned with the poor.

The man that looks upon the poor as the firstborn of the church, who honors that rank in them and considers himself under obligation to serve them, who does not expect any part of the blessings of the gospel except through the brotherly love and the companionship, this man, and only this man truly understands the mystery of charity.¹²

Bossuet was a youth at this time in which Spanish culture influenced France. This influence may be seen in his classicism and in

⁹Clyde E. Fant and William M. Pinson Jr., *Twenty Centuries of Great Preaching*, II (Waco: Word Books, 1971), 279-285.

¹⁰Ibid., II, 284. ¹¹Ibid., II, 288-294. ¹²Ibid., II, 294.

his knowledge of the Bible. It is interesting to notice also his great concern for the poor. All of this would influence later Spanish preaching.

Louis Bourdaloue (1632-1704). He was another of the court preachers of Louis XIV. He was the only son of an eloquent and persuasive lawyer. He became a priest against his father's will. Like his father, he was also a persuasive speaker. Like Nathan, he did not fear to accuse the king. Concerning social issues, he was concerned with the fact of the existence of riches in the midst of want.¹³ Like Bossuet, he also was young during the time of Spanish influence upon France.

François de Solignac de la Mathe Fénelon (1651-1715). Fénelon was a child during the waning years of Spanish influence upon France. However, he still could have felt it indirectly.

In contrast with the previous two preachers, Fénelon came from a poor family. His father was an older man while his mother was still young. He was raised by his uncle. Fénelon's mysticism made him an enemy of Bossuet. He was not only a mystic, but he was very fanatical in his mysticism. He was also a fanatical persecutor of the Huguenots, at least in his preaching, even though in practice he refused to use force against them. He was more direct in his sermons than Bossuet. Actually, fewer of his sermons have survived compared to the other three preachers considered in this chapter.¹⁴ Nothing remains that deals directly with the topic under consideration.

¹³Ibid., II, 350-353.

¹⁴Ibid., II, 368-374.

Jean Baptiste Massillon (1663-1742). By this time Spanish influence on French culture was more of a historical than a present reality. Massillon came from a humble home, even though his father was also a lawyer. His first reputation as a preacher came from his funeral orations. He was also recognized as a ^{lenten} preacher. His sermons are interesting reading. He identified himself with his audience.¹⁵

Massillon did speak extensively on social issues. Actually, he was almost prophetic or apocalyptic when he spoke in relationship to poverty. Many times the rich lose their fortunes. Massillon indicated that this happened because of the oppression they had inflicted upon the poor.

It is the tears of the poor, whom we neglected, whom we oppressed, which have gradually sapped, and at last have totally overthrown them: their cries have drawn down the thunder of Heaven upon our palaces. The Lord hath blown upon our superb edifices, and upon our fortune, and hath dissipated them like dust. Let the name of the poor be honorable in your sight, if you wish that your names may never perish in the memory of men. Let compassion sustain your houses if you wish that your posterity be not buried under their ruins.¹⁶

The French revolution came approximately half a century after Massillon's death. This makes the last sentence quoted above to be practically prophetic.

The following statement indicates that he not only recognized the problem, but also presented a plan through which it could be solved. This plan is similar to the modern graduated income tax.

If each of you were, according to the advice of the apostle, to appropriate a certain portion of your wealth toward the subsistence of the poor; if, in the computation of your expenses and of your revenues, this item were to be always regarded as the most sacred and

¹⁵Ibid., II, 385-388.

¹⁶Ibid., II, 390.

the most inviolable one, then we should quickly see the number of the afflicted to diminish: we should soon see renewed in the church that peace, that happiness, and that cheerful equality which reigned among the first Christians.¹⁷

It is a pity that when something like this came to be it was through the government and not through the church. It also is a pity that when this came to be it was also used much more for arms than for the benefit of the poor.

III. THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH CLASSICAL PREACHERS UPON SPANISH THOUGHT

These preachers exerted a tremendous influence upon Spanish thinking. Ricard himself indicates that "among the great Christian orators, Bossuet may be one of those that we know best in his work and in his creativity. However, a great part of his preaching is lost."¹⁸ Torrecilla, in the Nineteenth Century, considered Augustine, Thomas and Bossuet to be "the most illustrious commentators of our holy doctrines."¹⁹ This distinguished Spanish preacher placed Bossuet above any other Catholic theologian since the Middle Ages.

These preachers were also very well known in the American continent. Five sermons of Tiberio de J. Salazar y Herrera were published in Medellín, Colombia, in 1963. In one of these he used a quotation from Bossuet on Matt. 28:19,20. He introduced this quotation describing him

¹⁷Ibid., II, 391.

¹⁸Robert Ricard, *Estudios de Literatura Religiosa Española* (Madrid: Gredos, 1964), pp. 264-278.

¹⁹Pedro María de Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Misterios y Festividades de María*, III (París: Rosa Bouret & Cía., 1851), 339.

as "the most wise Bossuet,"²⁰ A commemorative edition of a sermon that was preached honoring the University of Cuenca, Ecuador, in 1965 mentions both Bossuet and Massillon. Bossuet is called "the great Bossuet" while Massillon is called "the eloquent Massillon."²¹

All of this indicates the great influence of these men upon Spanish preaching. Their influence was not limited to their day and age, but it has extended to this century. This is particularly true concerning Bossuet. Their influence was also seen in the history of Spanish preaching and in preaching on poverty. This will be noticed below as these topics are considered separately, the first one in the following chapter, and the second one in the next section.

IV. SUMMARY

A complete circle has been closed in this chapter. During the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries, Spain exerted its influence over France. Since the Eighteenth Century, France has influenced Spain. Spain's influence over France was political, cultural and economic. France's influence over Spain has manifested itself in these same spheres.

This circle has also closed itself in the religious sphere. During the time of the influence of the Huguenots over France, Spain managed to infiltrate fanatical Catholics into the French palace. Later

²⁰Tiberio de J. Salazar y Herrera, *Letras Pastorales: Homilías* (Medellín: Universidad Pontificia Boliviana, 1963), p. 10.

²¹Vicente Solano, *Discurso Pronunciado por Fray Vicente Solano en la Iglesia Católica de Cuenca, en el Te Deum por el Triunfo de Miñorca* (Cuenca, Ec.: Universidad de Cuenca, 1965), n. p.

on, French classical preachers influenced Spanish preaching both in Spain and in Spanish America.

This cultural interchange did not exist so clearly during the Middle Ages. During these years Spain was influenced more by the Arabs than by Europe. However, Spain did influence Europe, because the Arabs kept alive the classical tradition.

Both France and Spain speak Romance Languages. Their common cultural heritage explains partially their continuing cultural exchange. At the same time, their geographic proximity also contributes to it. Spain is really separated geographically from the rest of Europe, except France and Portugal. Not counting the years of its apogee during the Sixteenth Century, or the present age of rapid communications, the rest of Europe has not had that much influence over Spain, neither has Spain had that much influence over the rest of Europe. Even militarily, invasions from the South to the North or from the North to the South have not been as common as the wars between France and Germany.

This close relationship between these two countries would make a very profitable study in international relations. Actually, each chapter of this section represents something that must be studied on its own merit.

CHAPTER IX

THE HISTORY OF SPANISH PREACHING

It is not easy to write a history of Spanish preaching. There are so many countries, and none of them dominates the others culturally. Even studying preaching by countries, this would have to be done by each denomination separately. It would not be easy to consider all Christian preaching in a given country.

In all of the Spanish-American countries preaching could be divided in two periods: Colonial and Independent. In the case of Spain it could include many other periods. This represents another difficulty in the preparation of a complete history of Spanish preaching.

Spanish literary historians recognize regretfully that Ticknor, a North American scholar, was the founder of the history of Spanish literature. As a foreigner and a Protestant he ignored completely the history of Spanish preaching. Part of his reason for doing this is that Spain has not produced a Bourdaloue. However, it does have its Paravicino, its Nájera and its Guerra Ribera.¹

It is true that it is not easy to find sermonic documents. This is true in any language. It is particularly true in Spanish because of the rigors of the Inquisition.² Herrero García also regrets that no Spaniard has taken the necessary time to produce a History of Spanish

¹Miguel Herrero García, ed., *Sermonario Clásico* (Madrid: Escelicer, 1942), pp. vii-ix.

²Félix Herrero Salgado, *Aportación Bibliográfica a la Oratoria Sagrada Española* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1971), p. 1.

preaching.³ This situation is best described in the words of Miguel Mir, "the history of sacred Spanish eloquence is the greatest vacuum that exist in our Literature."⁴

Both Herrero García and Herrero Salgado have prepared relatively short essays on the history of Spanish preaching. Herrero Salgado has prepared a Bibliography of more than 5,000 Spanish sermons in partial fulfillment of his requirements for a PhD degree in Spain. This study cannot present a history of Spanish preaching. What it can do is to indicate some of the outstanding findings of these two men as a background to the consideration of preaching on social issues.

I. THE EARLIEST EVIDENCES OF SPANISH PREACHING

Probably one of the eldest manuscripts of an attempt at Spanish preaching is a translation of a sermon of Augustine. This is presented below in Table 4. These fragments date from approximately the year 900. The glosses that appear in parenthesis indicate a strong influence from the common manner of speaking. These glosses are dated at approximately the year 950.⁵ The Latin text is for comparison with Augustine's original sermon. The glosses are interpreted from the old Spanish into modern Spanish and then into English in parenthesis. The appearance of these expressions indicate the transition from Latin to Spanish. The addition of the text from Isaiah as well as the addition of other

³Herrero García, p. vii.

⁴Ibid.; Herrero Salgado, p. 2.

⁵Tatiana Fotitch, *An Anthology of Old Spanish* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1962), pp. 27, 28.

arguments indicates that this is a sermon based on a sermon of Augustine, and not a mere translation of that sermon. Notice the manner in which the message is actualized by the use of the expression "don Paulo" for Paul. All of this means that this is a portion of one of the earliest sermons in Spanish.

Table 4

Spanish Sermon of the Year 900 with Glossae of 950 in Parenthesis
Compared to the Sermon from which it was Taken

Spanish Sermon	Augustine's Sermon
<p>Rogo uos fratres carissimi nemo dicat jn corde suo quia¹ pec- cata carnis non curat Deus, Sed au- dite ('kate uos)² apostolum dicen- tem ... siquis ('qualbis uemne).³ ... Dicit etiam (Esajas)⁴ testimo- nium (ficatore)⁵ omnis caro fenum et omnis claritas⁶ ejus ut flos ('flore) feni ('jerba) ... Sed ad tempus moritur 'non resurgit ('non se uiuificarat)⁷ cum crimine ('pec- cato). "Ayt enim apostolus ('zer- te dicet don Paulo apostolo) quiz corpora uestra temblum est Spiritus Sancti; ... 'tu ipse es ('tuelesco⁸ jes)⁹ templum Dei ... jn doko tua manes ('tu sienes) ... uide 'quid agas ('ke faras),¹⁰ uide 'ne of- fendas ('tunon laiscas)¹¹ et jn ruinam uertaris ('tornaras).¹² Nes- citis, jnquid ('dicet) quiz corpo- ra uestra templum est Spiritus Sancti quem habetis a Deo et non estis uestri ('reputativa)¹³ emti enim estis pretio magno.</p>	<p>Non dicat in corde suo: Pec- cata carnis non curat Deus.</p> <p>Nescitis, inquit idem Apostolus, quia corpora uestra templum in vobis est Spiritus Sancti, ...</p> <p>Nescitis, inquit, quia corpora uestra templum in vobis est Spiritus sancti, quem habetis a Deo, et non estis uestri? Empti enim estis pretio magno.</p>

Glossae:

¹quia = que (that).

²kate uos = capte(t)uos o captate uos, mirad (behold).

³qualbis uemne = cualquier hombre (any man).

Table 4 (continued)

Glossae:

- ⁴Esajas = Is 40:6.
⁵testimonium (ficatorem) = aquel que estableció el testimonio
 (He who established the testimony).
⁶claritas = esplendor (brilliancy).
⁷uiuificarat = vivificará, futuro (shall bring to life, future).
⁸tuelisco < tu ille ipse: notar la acumulación de pronombres
 (notice the accumulation of pronouns).
⁹jes: notar el diptongo (notice the diphthong).
¹⁰faras, futuro (future).
¹¹laisces < hace suelto, que no sea estricto (laxes).
¹²tornaras, futuro (future).
¹³reputativa: quizá repetitiva, porque esta misma declaración a-
 parece dos veces en el sermón (probably repetitive, because this very
 same statement appears twice in the sermon).

Sources: Augustine, *Sermon* 82, 13; Fotitch, pp. 27, 28.

II. SPANISH PREACHING IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Herrero García and Herrero Salgado do not cover this period in their works on the history of Spanish preaching. However, it is a very interesting period.

Yitzhak Baer describes the anti-Semitic preaching of Ferrant Martínez in 1378. He was the Arch-Deacon of Ecija, in rural Andalucía. Baer indicates that his preaching, which survives in fragmentary form, contained religious fanaticism and vulgar anti-Semitism. He states that Ferrant Martínez said that the king and the queen would not punish any one for attacking a Jew. Ferrant Martínez also baptized all of the slaves that belonged to Jews.⁶ He did not do this because of his

⁶Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, II (Philadelphia: Jewish Publishing Society of America, 1978), 95, 96.

missionary fervor, but rather because of his anti-Semitism. Since Jews were not allowed to have Christians as slaves, this was a sure way of denying them any slaves at all.

III. SPANISH PREACHING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

As in politics, this was the Golden Age of Spanish preaching. The Reformation eclipses Spanish preaching at this time as far as the history of the Christian Church is concerned. However, there were some outstanding preachers and some great sermons preached in Spain at this time.

Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588). Granada was probably the most outstanding preacher of this time. He preached in the presence of both Portuguese and Spanish royalty. One of his objectives was that preaching would not have to borrow anything from "the literature of the Gentiles."⁷

His preaching was similar to that of the previous centuries. His style, as well as that of his followers, was clear, simple and understandable. His sermons were based on the Bible and the writings of the Fathers, especially Augustine. Second rate sources were not used.⁸

His Followers. This style of preaching continued during the first decade of the Seventeenth Century. His followers used it, even though in other aspects each preacher followed his own style.⁹

⁷Herrero García, p. ix.

⁸Ibid., p. xlv.

⁹Ibid., p. xxxvii.

Even in 1614 Fray Francisco de Castañeda still preached in this manner. Not as passionate as Granada, he still was a loving, moving and colorful preacher.¹⁰

Others tried to continue this tradition. However, their numbers and their effectiveness were rapidly diminishing. This was partially due to the intrusion of the classical style of preaching and partially because of the necessity of using the Scriptures in Latin because of the Inquisition.¹¹ According to some, the use of the Spanish language was not permitted in quoting the Bible, even though it was translated as literature, as indicated above.

IV. SPANISH CLASSICAL PREACHING

It is noteworthy that in preaching, as well as in literature and other fields, Spanish used the classical method of preaching before it was used in French. The Renaissance began in Italy. In some aspects it affected Spain before it affected France, and it could be said that it even affected France through Spain.

Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino y Arteaga (1568-1611). Paravicino was the son of an Italian father and a Spanish mother. His father was very active in Milanese affairs even late in life, serving as Treasurer both of the state and the army (1603-5). As for his son, it is said that he knew how to read and write when he was four years old.¹² A

¹⁰Ibid., p. li.

¹¹Herrero Salgado, p. 24.

¹²"Paravicino y Arteaga (Fray Hortensio Félix), *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, 15 (New York: W. M. Jackson, 1941), 899.

year later he also knew how to count and he was acquainted with the first notions of the Latin language.¹³

Paravicino was considered to be "the unrivaled orator of the age and as such became court preacher to Philip III (1617) and Philip IV (1621), and was dubbed 'preacher of kings and king of preachers'."¹⁴ On the other hand, others consider him to represent the beginning of the decadence of Spanish preaching.¹⁵

Paravicino was a friend of Góngora and imitated him in his sonnets. Actually, El Greco immortalized some of his sonnets on canvass. In this way the poet, the painter and the preacher are all combined.¹⁷ In preaching, Paravicino also imitated Góngora. His sermons are considered to be "the art of Góngora applied to oratory." He preached in a "refined style, often cold."¹⁸ However, he did uplift his listeners by his preaching, even though he considered more important that they "bring about surprise and satisfaction, admiration and entertainment."¹⁹ His sermons are eloquent and full of metaphors and conceptual subtleties. They "are the best example of sacred purist oratory."²⁰

¹³"Paravicino y Arteaga, Fray Hortensio Félix, *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, 41 (Madrid:Espasa-Calpe, 1958), 1107.

¹⁴"Paravicino, Fray Hortensio Félix," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, X (New York:Mc-Graw-Hill, 1966), 997.

¹⁵Hilary Dansey Smith, *Preaching in the Spanish Golden Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 2.

¹⁶J. García López, *Historia de la Literatura Española* (Barcelona: Teidi, 1959), p. 254.

¹⁷Angel Valbuena Prat, *Historia de la Literatura Española*, II (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1968), 688

¹⁸Ibid., II, 690. ¹⁹Ibid., II, 689. ²⁰García López, p. 254.

Actually, even without Góngora Paravicino would have followed a similar style of writing and preaching. He considered this to be a favor or a curse from heaven.²¹ It was his own natural style, his own way of being. He could have been called a Gongorist before Góngora.²² His oratory is considered to be intellectual and aristocratic, not of the masses. His purpose was not to move, but to surprise his audiences.²³ He had "the eminent nature of a poet, of an artisan of the word, he was of an impetuous heart, of profound culture and of apostolic virtue."²⁴

It is no surprise that his sermons were considered to be classical in 1648;²⁵ it could be surprising that the Royal Academy still considered them to be classical as late as 1853.²⁶ The least that could be said is that it could be very profitable to study him as a preacher in a future dissertation.

His Followers. Classical preaching flourished in Spanish from this time until approximately 1750. Murillo was one of those that followed him.²⁷ Many sermons at this time were translated from Spanish to French. The following is a list of Spanish preachers whose sermons were translated into French, with the dates of publication of their sermons in Diego de la Vega (1602-1614), Pedro de Valderrama (1609-1619), Cristóbal de Fonseca (1618), Diego Murillo (1613, 1654), Cristóbal de Avendaño

²¹Valbuena Prat, II, 689. ²²Herrero García, pp. lviii, lix.

²³Ibid., p. xxi. ²⁴Ibid., p. lix. ²⁵Ibid., p. xiii.

²⁶"Paravicino, Fray Hortensio Félix," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, X, 997.

²⁷Herrero García, o. xxxviii.

(1628, 1638), Basilio Ponce de León (1643), Diego Niceno (1635-1649), Juan de Mota (1638-1652).²⁸

This activity indicates the interest of the French in Spanish literature at that time. It should also be noted that most of this work was done after the death of Paravicino (1611) and even after the death of Góngora (1627). On the other hand, most of this work was done just before or around the time in which Bossuet (1627-1704) was beginning to be an effective preacher. This indicates the work of Spanish preachers as part of the context in which Bossuet began his work.

V. OPPOSITION TO CLASSICAL PREACHING

Not all of the preachers considered above were classical preachers. Almost immediately after the death of Paravicino voices were heard against his polished style of preaching. Foremost among these was Diego Niseno, whose sermons were published in 1627,²⁹ and, as indicated above, translated into French in the period between 1635 and 1649.

Between 1650 and 1750 classical preaching began to degenerate to the point of becoming practically meaningless. Fray Gerundio became the representative of extreme poverty of this style of preaching. At the same time, he typified all Spanish preaching and brought it into disrepute. This is true not only of preaching during his lifetime, but of all Spanish preaching both before and after his lifetime.³⁰ At the same time, this revival of Biblical preaching was not as strong as it should have been because of fear of the Inquisition. However, it did exist,

²⁸Ibid., p. xxiii.

²⁹Ibid., p. lxii.

³⁰Herrero Salgado, pp. 1,2.

even to the extent of preserving some of the old Rabbinical traditions. "The *leyenda negra* of Spanish Counter-Reformation Catholicism has been exaggerated, and ... at certain levels the sterner rulings of the Council of Trent were modified to preserve long standing traditions."³¹

Concerning classical preaching, Niseno said "I can not persuade myself that whoever studies how to satisfy the ear with the beauty of the phrase more than how he will touch the will with the significance of the sentence will bear much fruit or pretend the honor and glory of God."³²

VI. SPANISH PREACHING SINCE 1750

Not much has been done to try to analyze Spanish preaching since 1750. Things became more complicated because outstanding preachers appear in other countries besides Spain and in other religious persuasions besides the Catholic Church.

Among other things, some preaching presents an imitation and admiration of French Classical preaching. There appears a combination of direct and refined preaching.

New themes appear in preaching. These include the wars of independence in the early Nineteenth Century and the theology of liberation in the middle of the Twentieth Century. At the same time, the immediacy of the need and the vitality of the situation has brought about a preaching based on this need and not so much the Bible, the Fathers or other sources. It is not as eloquent as that of the past. However, there are notable exceptions that will be considered below.

³¹Smith, p. 156.

³²Herrero García, p. lxiii.

VII. SUMMARY

The history of Spanish preaching has not been written yet. Actually, this is not an easy task because of the different Spanish speaking countries involved and because of the different persuasions.

The study of the history of Spanish literature was begun by Ticknor, an American Protestant of the Nineteenth Century. Present day Spanish scholars blame him for ignoring Spanish preaching. However, the responsibility for this could go to Fray Gerundio and the complete disrepute of Classical preaching in the hands of inept men.

The earliest evidence of an intent of Spanish preaching comes at least from the year 900 of our era. Reference is made in this case to a sermon of Augustine that was changed in its presentation to the Spanish mind. There are scanty references to preaching in the Middle Ages.

Probably the most outstanding Spanish preachers of all time were Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588) and Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino y Arteaga (1568-1611). Granada was a preacher that followed the direct method of preaching, Paravicino used a refined classical style. Granada preached to the masses, Paravicino to the high classes. Granada preached to the heart, Paravicino to the mind. Both had successors. At first it seemed that Paravicino overcame Granada. In the long run both styles fused and Spanish preaching tried to reach people because of its content and also because of its beauty.

More recently great purposes and issues have become more important than style. However, this has not been lost completely. This can be seen in the preaching for independence and in the preaching of liberation theology.

PART III
SPANISH SERMONS
ON SOCIAL ISSUES

CHAPTER X

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS OF SPANISH PREACHING ON SOCIAL ISSUES

More than two thousand sermons in Spanish have been considered for this study. Most of these are sermons that were originally preached in Spanish. A few are sermons that were translated from other languages into the Spanish language.

The Spanish sermons cover a period of eleven centuries. The translations cover a period of four centuries. Spanish sermons on social issues cover three of the last five centuries, translations, three of the last four.

The text of an abbreviation of the Spanish sermons is found in the Supplement of this study. The text of the translations from other languages is not included here because some of them could be available in an English translation from the original language.

I. SPANISH SERMONS ON SOCIAL ISSUES

Thirty-two of those sermons mentioned above were preached in Spanish on social issues. These sermons were preached in Spain, Argentina, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and Venezuela. They were preached in the Sixteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

Spanish Preachers that Preached on Social Issues. Table 5 will help in the understanding of the background of these preachers. It considers the eleven preachers presented in this study in chronological order. One of them preached in the early part of the Sixteenth Century,

two in the first part of the Nineteenth Century, one in the later part of the Nineteenth Century and the rest during the present century.

Table 5
Spanish Preachers on Social Issues

Name of Preacher	Century	Profession	Country
Antón de Montesinos	XVIa	Dominican Friar	Spain, Dom. R.
Santiago José García Mazo	XIXa	Priest & Author	Spain
Pedro María de Torrecilla	XIXa	Priest, Aux. Bishop?	Spain, France
José de Jesús Cuevas	XIXb	Lawyer, Manufacturer	Mexico
Antonio Caso	XXa	Law., Phil., Educ.	Mexico
José Eusebio Ricaurte	XXa	Priest	Colombia
Albino González Menéndez-R.	XXa	Friar, Bishop	Spain
José Ruiz Medrano	XXb	Priest	Mexico
Héctor O. Oglietti	XXb	Priest, TV Preacher	Argentina
Virgilio Pamio	XXb	Priest	Argentina
Jesús María Pellín	XXb	Priest, Aux. Bishop	Venezuela

It should be noted that two of these speakers were not preachers at all. These were lawyers. On the other hand, one was a TV speaker à la Bishop Sheen.

Much of the Spanish speaking world is represented in this group. One of them published his sermons in France while he apparently lived in exile there.

Sermons on Social Issues. There is almost as great a variation in the sermons of these preachers as in the speakers themselves. This is to be expected, considering the different eras in which they preached and the different countries they represented.

Table 6 will help in understanding the different topics covered in these sermons. Only the last names of the preachers are used.

Table 6

Main Topics in the Spanish Sermons on Social Issues

Preacher	Poor & Poverty	Workers & their Wages	Orphans	Slaves	Socio-political Solution Hunger	Chrst. Solu- tion	Pples. of Social Action	Total
Montesinos				2				2
García M.						1		1
Torrecilla					1	3	3	7
Cuevas	1							1
Caso							2	2
Ricaurte	1							1
González					1	2	3	6
Ruiz M.				1	1			2
Oglietti					1	3		4
Pamio	1				1		1	3
Pellín		1	1			1		3
Totals	3	1	1	3	2	7	6	32

An effort has been made to list these sermons in the same order that was used in the presentation of the Biblical texts in the Pentateuch. Hunger has been included after slavery because it was not listed in a separate category at that time. It could be listed with poverty, but there are times when even the rich may go hungry. The following columns present solutions offered by the world and by the church. Finally, the last column of sermons represents the principles that the church recommends in the solution of this problem. The following chapters will be in this order. After a consideration of the central message of the sermons, the questions of authority, the relationship of these sermons to Liberation Theology and to the recent councils of Latin American Bishops will be considered.

Nine sermons present a Christian solution to these problems. They present the solution recommended by the Catholic Church. The second greatest number, seven, is related to socio-political solutions to these problems. Six of these were preached against communism.

II. SOURCES OF THE SPANISH SERMONS ON SOCIAL ISSUES

Most of these sermons are found in books that were written by the preacher himself or were written as collections of his sermons. However, some do not fall into this category.

The sermons of Antón de Montesinos have survived in an abridged form in Bartolomé de las Casas' *Historia de las Indias*. Bartolomé de las Casas was born in Seville approximately in 1474. His forefathers were French, settling in Seville since the reconquest of the city from the Moors. He came to America in Columbus' second journey. He is well known as the protector of the Indians. His work was written between 1527 and 1561, and published in 1600. At least once he was tried for defending the Indians. This happened in Nicaragua in 1536. He later became Bishop of Chiapas where he continued defending the rights of the Indians. He was the first person to suggest that Black people relieve the Indians from their slavery. He lived to regret this. He died in 1566 at the ripe age of 92.¹

Santiago José García Mazo's sermon was published in a collection of Spanish sermons edited and published by Vicente Canos in 1855. This collection as well as that of Torrecilla were published in France and in

¹Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I (México: Ireneo Paz, 1877), 17, 79, 91, 97.

Mexico during this decade. It is interesting to notice that conditions in Spain at this time were not stable enough for the publication of such a large work as this.

During the regime of Porfirio Díaz (1880-1910) Mexico published a collection of its major literary achievements. One of the volumes of this collection contains the sermons of a lawyer, José de Jesús Cuevas. One of these sermons deals with social issues. The same thing happened in Colombia in the decade of 1930. Several volumes of this collection contain religious discourses. One of these is José Eusebio Ricaurte's sermon that is considered in this study.

An abridgement of all of the sermons on social issues considered in this study is found in the Appendix to this study. Both Spanish and English translation by the author of this study is found for the sermons of the Nineteenth Century and those prior to this date. An English abridgement by the author of this study is presented for sermons of this Twentieth Century. The reference in the footnotes in the following chapters is to the original publication of the sermons.

III. SERMONS ON SOCIAL ISSUES TRANSLATED INTO THE SPANISH LANGUAGE

This section is not as important as the one that has been presented above. However, the fact that sermons on this subject were translated into the Spanish language indicates that there was interest in this topic. At the same time, it is important to notice that some of the concepts that were translated could have been used in Spanish sermons.

Preachers on Social Issues whose Sermons were Translated into

Spanish. As with Spanish preachers, Table 7 will help to understand the background of the preachers whose sermons were translated into Spanish.

Table 7

Preachers on Social Issues whose Sermons were Translated into
the Spanish Language

Name of Preacher	Century	Profession	Country
Paolo Segneri	XVIIb	Priest	Italy
Felix Antoine P. Dupanloup	XIXa	Bishop	France
Monsieur Deplace	XIXa	Lay person, unknown	France
Jean Baptiste H. Lacordaire	XIXa	Lawyer, Dominican Fr.	France
Tihamer Toth	XXa	Bishop	Hungary

One of the interesting things in this list of preachers is that it closes the gap of the Seventeenth Century in the former list. As in the former list, it also includes a lay person. Besides this, one of the preachers included in this list probably was of the Eastern Orthodox persuasion, this was Bishop Toth. Segneri and Lacordaire are among the best preachers in the history of preaching.

Sermons on Social Issues. As with Spanish sermons, Table 8 will help to understand the nature of the topics of these sermons. Since not all of the categories included in the Spanish sermons were covered in these sermons, the list is shorter than the one found in Table 6.

As with Spanish sermons, the majority of these sermons also present the subject of Principles of Social Action. In translation there is not so much interest in local issues as in principles of action. This also means that seventeen of the forty-six sermons are on this topic.

Table 8

Main Topics of the Sermons on Social Issues Translated into Spanish

Preacher	Poor & Poverty	Hunger	Christian Solutions	Principles of Social Action	Total
Segneri			2	1	3
Dupanloup			1	3	4
Deplace	1				1
Lacordaire	1			2	3
Toth		1		2	3
Total	2	1	3	8	14

IV. SOURCES OF THE SERMONS ON SOCIAL ISSUES TRANSLATED INTO THE SPANISH LANGUAGE

The sermons of Dupanloup, Deplace and Lacordaire are found in the collections of Cano and Torrecilla that are mentioned above. Segneri's sermons are found in a four volume collection of his sermons. They were published in Madrid in 1858. Toth's sermons also form a four volume collection. They were published in Spain and Argentina in 1942.

Since these sermons were not preached originally in Spanish they are not translated in the Appendix. Some quotations or allusions may be made to them in the text of this study. In that case the source will be given in the text itself.

V. SUMMARY

More than two thousand sermons in Spanish have been considered in this study. Forty-six of these were preached on social issues. This means that 2% of the sermons were preached on social issues.

Thirty-two of these sermons were preached originally in Spanish. The other fourteen were translated from other languages. These sermons represent the work of eleven preachers, the others of five. Other sermons also made reference to social issues, but these were sermons preached exclusively on these problems.

It should be noted that since the Sixteenth Century at least one sermon on social issues for each century is available in this collection. Three of the sixteen persons that preached these sermons were not preachers at all, but lay persons. This is outstanding for the Catholic Church, in which the laity do not have too much freedom of expression.

The overwhelming majority of these sermons relate to principles of social action. This is true for both Spanish sermons and those that are translated from other languages, even though it is more marked in those that are translated.

Many of these sermons are found in collections of sermons or other literature. This includes the collections of Canos and Torrecilla published in the 1850s and collections printed in Mexico towards the end of the Nineteenth Century and in Colombia in the 1930s. The sermons of Antón de Montesinos are found in the work of Bartolomé de las Casas. All of the others are in works that in one way or another bear the name of the preacher. This is true even of some of the sermons that are found in the collections or anthologies mentioned above.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The purpose of this chapter is to consider that which Spanish preachers had to say concerning social problems. These will be considered in the same order in which they are presented in Chapter II. As noted in Chapter X, this means that the sermons that speak about the poor and poverty, the workers and their wages, the orphans, and those that speak about slavery are the ones to be considered in this chapter. The sermons concerning hunger are also considered here.

I. THE POOR AND POVERTY

As noticed above, three sermons that were preached originally in Spanish and two sermons that were translated from the French center on this subject. It should also be noted that two of these five sermons were preached by laymen. This also means that two of the four sermons preached by the laity were preached on this topic. Probably the reason for this is that they considered that they could preach more freely on this topic than on others without any danger of getting involved in doctrinal disputes and the danger of excommunication. When asked about the reason for her not writing more on Biblical topics a Mexican nun of the Seventeenth Century replied that she could do scientific research without fear of the Inquisition. This was not the case if she studied Biblical topics. Lay preachers faced the same problem.

¹Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Obras Completas* (México: Porrúa, 1969), p. 976.

Translated Sermons. Two of the sermons were translated from the French. One of these was from Monsieur Deplace. He indicated that the poor have the rights that belong to Jesus Christ. In the Roman Empire they suffered the scorn of the rich. On the other hand, the Christians who had some means considered themselves to be the fathers of the poor.² The solution to the problem of poverty was not the subject of this sermon. However, if it had been, it would have been that a paternalistic attitude for the poor on the part of the rich is needed. This sermon was preached in the first part of the Nineteenth Century.

Lacordaire also preached a sermon on this subject. He also presented the situation in the Roman Empire. He indicated that the poor had no rights, dignity, self-respect, hope, memory of a common origin with the rich or brotherhood with them. Would the rich educate them? They did not even worry about their death, much less about educating them. Jesus changed this situation. Condemning slavery, He identified Himself with the poor. Christians like St. Francis of Assisi followed the example set by Jesus. The solution to the problem of poverty according to this sermon would be to follow this example. Lacordaire considers that the Church has done this throughout the ages.³

José de Jesús Cuevas. His is the first sermon on this topic that was preached in Spanish. It was preached in Christmas of 1895 to

²Mr. Deplace, "Dignidad y Derechos del Pobre," *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores, Sermones Morales*, ed. Pedro María de Torrecilla, III (Paris: Rosa, Bouret & Cía., 1851), 28-43.

³Jean Baptiste H. Lacordaire, "Dignidad del Pobre," in *Ibid.*, III, 426-440.

the poor in Mexico City. The preacher was a lawyer. He preached at that time of a great class struggle during the regime of Porfirio Díaz.

This is an extremely eloquent speech with many Biblical pictures interwoven in its arguments. It was delivered for the encouragement of the poor, even though it is doubtful that these could understand what was being said or the concepts that were being presented.

The first part of the speech speaks of the hardships of poverty both for the body and for the soul. The second part indicates that it is the privilege of the poor to be in this condition in God's presence.

Cuevas indicates that poverty must be borne with patience. He indicates that the poor must be resigned to their poverty. If they do this, they are heroes and martyrs. From a spiritual point of view, he considers them to be predestined to heaven because they have suffered the sufferings of hell on this earth.

At the same time he indicates that the rich must have compassion of the poor. They also have an obligation to them. This obligation is to provide them with that which they need and to comfort them and love them. At the same time, the poor will have the obligation in heaven of asking God to bless the rich.⁴

This solution borders on paternalism. At the same time it requests the poor not to rebel against the rich. Justice will finally be done in heaven.

José Eusebio Ricaurte. This sermon was preached at the groundbreaking ceremony of a chapel for the hospital for the poor in Bogotá,

⁴José de Jesús Cuevas, *Discursos Religiosos* (México: V. Agüeros, 1898), pp. 363-369.

Colombia, in 1926.⁵ This was a ceremonial sermon preached more than thirty years after Cuevas' sermon. Both civil and ecclesiastical authorities were present in this important event.

Ricaurte indicates that the chapel is needed in the hospital because it will serve as the threshold to heaven for those that do not find their physical health. It is also needed as a source of comfort for the nuns who sacrifice everything for the welfare of others.

This may seem to indicate that there is little relationship between this sermon and poverty. However, it was dedicated to the poor, just like the hospital was dedicated to them. Ricaurte also indicates that the presence of the authorities honors the poor and brings them joy. It also indicates their interest in the problems of the poor.

With Torrecilla Ricaurte reminds his audience that the Church was founded at a time in which the poor did not have any rights.⁶ This was also presented more or less at that time by Lacordaire.⁷ With Cuevas, he spoke of the poor as the "chosen" companions of the Lord.⁸

All of this does not present a new solution to the problem of the poor. Ricaurte seems to support the status quo. He congratulates the state for its continued support of the Church in its scanty efforts to help the poor in their extreme emergencies.

⁵Biblioteca Aldeana de Colombia, *Los Jovenes Oradores Sagrados* (Bogotá: Minerva, 1936), p. 11.

⁶José Eusebio Ricaurte, "Sermón para la Ceremonia de Apertura de los Trabajos de Construcción de la Capilla para un Hospital para los Pobres," *Los Jovenes Oradores Sagrados*, pp. 185-194.

⁷Lacordaire, in Torrecilla, III, 426-440.

⁸Cuevas, 363-369.

Virgilio Pamio. He is the last preacher who preached a sermon that could be considered to deal with the problem of poverty per se. He published a series of sermons for the Ecclesiastical Year in 1968. This was the same year in which the Latin American Episcopal Conference met in Medellín, Colombia. He was Argentinian, and his book was also published in Argentina.

Pamio's sermon for the Second Sunday of Advent confronts the problem of the poor. He indicates that both Jesus and John the Baptist were poor. The Church must also be poor. The Church is poor, but it has an image of wealth. It must present a semblance of poverty to the world. This was lost under Constantine. It must be regained. It must preach the gospel to the poor both in word and in deed. This way the Church may once more bear the image of Christ.⁹ This call to the Church to identify itself with the poor was made that very same year in the Latin American Episcopal Conference and elsewhere.¹⁰

II. WORKERS AND THEIR WAGES

Only one sermon focuses on this subject. This sermon was preached by Jesús María Pellín, Auxilliary Bishop of Caracas, Venezuela. Since he died November 20, 1969, his sermon must have been preached a little before that date. His sermons were published in 1970.¹¹

This sermon was based on Deuteronomy 24:14,15. This text was presented above among the texts on social issues in the Torah. It

⁹Virgilio Pamio, *El Plan de la Salvación en la Meditación de los Evangelios Dominicales* (Buenos Aires: Guadalupe, 1968), pp. 27-33.

¹⁰Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973), pp. 117, 118, 131.

indicates that laborers must receive their remuneration daily. However, once the text was read, no reference is made to it throughout the sermon.

Pellín indicates that the Church has always favored that workers be treated decently. It has taught that every person has his own worth in the presence of God. It has also taught that those in position of leadership, wealth and power must consider those that work for them as their equals. He presents four basic teachings of the Church:

1. The laborer has a right to a salary sufficient for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children.
2. Nobody should be deprived of that which others have in more abundance than their basic needs.
3. Every man must own property.
4. The dignity of both male and female workers must be respected. A child must not bear heavy burdens. He must be prepared to be useful ... when he comes of age.

Pellín adds that because of human malice the first three goals have not been reached. However, reforms have been made concerning the dignity of the laborer. He also states that the International Union of Catholic Businessmen must make it its goal that every laborer may own at least his own dwelling.¹¹

It cannot be denied that this sermon is very clear in its objectives. The Church must do all that is within its power to improve the working conditions of its members. These goals have been stated quite clearly. However, what about the person that cannot find employment? This sermon does not endeavor to answer this question. On the other hand, adding to this the message of the former sermon, it is clearly stated that the Church must identify with the poor. Then it must help those that have a job to be treated equitably, and those that do not

¹¹Jesús María Pellín, *Testimonio* (Caracas: Revista Lor, 1970), pp. 275-277.

have a job to find one according to their own strength and their own capacity.

III. ORPHANS

Pellín also preached a sermon on the Centennial of the foundation of the Orphanage in Caracas. In the sermon he praised the founding fathers. He indicated that there was a need to continue serving the orphans of the country. This need represented a social, religious and patriotic obligation.

A problem is evident in spite of the simplicity of this sermon. This was an effort to deprive the institution of its religious ties. Pellín wanted the Church to continue leading out in its operation with funds provided by the national government.¹²

It could be said that this sermon does not have much influence on the problem of social issues. However, the last issue is very important. Should the state support the social services of the Church? If this is so, to what extent must it be done?

IV. SLAVES

Spanish preaching has not been as effective in the solution of any problem as it has been in the solution of this one. The influence of Spanish preaching has been so great that preaching in general can feel a sense of accomplishment. Actually, aside from the Reformation, this was the greatest accomplishment of preaching in the Sixteenth Century.

¹²Ibid., pp. 232-238.

Antón de Montesinos. The most outstanding name in preaching against slavery is that of Antón de Montesinos. He preached two outstanding sermons against the enslavement of Indians during the Advent season, December of 1511. This was almost six years before the inception of the Reformation.

America had been discovered less than twenty years before this time. By 1500 Santo Domingo had been founded. Nicolás de Ovando was appointed governor in 1502. Two years later the Crown authorized the importation of up to 200 slaves a year. This was suspended in 1516. Under Ovando the use of Indians in forced labor in the mines and on roads was encouraged. They were also practically enslaved under the *repartimiento* system. Ovando continued as governor until 1509 when he was replaced by Diego Colón, son of the discoverer. As stated above, Montesinos preached his now famous sermons against the enslavement of Indians in 1511. The following year the Crown issued the laws of Burgos with the purpose of checking the mistreatment of the Indians while maintaining the system of the *encomiendas*.¹³

The first sermon was preached the Sunday before Christmas in 1511.¹⁴ The text used by Montesinos was appropriate to the Advent season in which it was preached. It depicted John the Baptist's ministry in the desert (Lk 3:4). Using this as a basis Montesinos talked about the sterility of the consciences of his listeners as well as their blindness. He indicated that they were in danger of being condemned by

¹³Rayford W. Logan, *Haiti and the Dominican Republic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 28, 29.

¹⁴Lewis Hanke, *Bartolomé de las Casas* (Habana: Ucar García, 1949), p. 20.

God because they were unaware of the serious sins that they were committing even until their deathbeds. These sins were those of working the Indians without healing their illnesses and even sending them to their deaths in order to attain a little more gold.¹⁵

This sermon moved the Spanish community against Montesinos and the monastic community he represented. They complained to the Governor. Diego Colón talked with the Abbot who promised that another sermon would be preached the following week on the same subject. With this they left, fully convinced that Montesinos would recant everything and things would return to normal.¹⁶

The second sermon was preached to a full house. During the week the Friars had studied together and come to one accord concerning this sermon, just as they had done with the first sermon. The text was from Job 36:3, and as translated by Montesinos it said: "My wisdom from the beginning shall be repeated, and my conversations are to be verified without a command." Basically the sermon was a repetition of the first one. If anything, it was a little stronger. Montesinos actually even challenged his listeners to write to the King himself.¹⁷

This they were prompt in doing. The King sent a Friar from the rival Franciscan order to plead their cause. Montesinos eventually had to travel to Spain to defend his case. He personally had to pay for his way there. He was held in such disrepute that he had to beg for food from the inhabitants of the island. The majority were unwilling to

¹⁵Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I (México: I-reneo Paz, 1877), 161.

¹⁶Ibid., I, 161-163.

¹⁷Ibid., I, 163.

contribute to his cause, eventually he acquired sufficient means with which to feed himself during his journey to Spain.¹⁸

Montesinos was a very courageous preacher. Endangering his own life he presented an unpopular message. He saw the social need of his day and he did something about it. He faced the situation directly and without any fear of the consequences. He indicated clearly that the conquerors had no right to enslave the former owners of the land. He indicated that they were also human beings.

It is impossible to measure the long range results of most preaching. This is one of the few cases in which they can be measured. Those that were opposed to the Indians were very strong. They considered that the Bible justified their conquest of the Indians. After all, it was only a continuation of the wars of reconquest of the homeland from the hands of the infidels.

To Christianize the Indians meant to subdue them. They considered that Israel's wars justified the conquest of the New World by Spanish forces. Israel's wars did not have as their sole objective the conversion of the people that were delivered into their hands. Even though Jesus Christ and the apostles did not conquer by the sword, this was now necessary because the Indians offered their young ones in sacrifice to their gods and practiced idolatry. After all, these were the motives of the Babylonian captivity and of the flood.¹⁹

All of these were arguments used against Montesinos and those

¹⁸de las Casas, pp. 163-165.

¹⁹Antonio María Fabié y Escudero, *Vida y Escritos de Don Bartolomé de las Casas*, I (Madrid: Miguel Genesta, 1969), 418-421.

who tried to protect the Indians from enslavement. When he arrived in Spain it was not easy for him to have an interview with the King. He actually entered the King's chambers when the guard was busy with someone else. However, once this was done, he presented his case boldly.²⁰

Because of his preaching and his interview with the King laws were enacted soon after protecting the Indians from the worse abuses of slavery. Besides this, Bartolomé de las Casas, who was to record Montesinos sermons, became the protector of the Indians. Both of these outcomes came as a direct result of these sermons.

José Ruiz Medrano. Spanish priests have been criticized in their preaching because they protected the Indian and enslaved the Black. This has probably contributed to the relative lack of affinity between them. This helped the White population to continue their exploitation of both peoples.

The fact is that Bartolomé de las Casas did recommend that Black slaves be brought to replace the Indians. However, he lived to regret this when he saw how they were treated.

Pedro Claver was the preacher who spoke on behalf of the Black community as Montesinos did on behalf of the Indians. Their freedom came in the Nineteenth Century. It came first in the Latin American countries, as they gained their independence from Spain. Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, hero of Mexican independence, proclaimed the freedom of all slaves as early as 1810. The country finally passed such a Decree on the Nineteenth Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence,

²⁰de las Casas, I, 167.

the 15th of September in 1829. Argentina declared in 1813 that the children of slaves were free, eventually abolishing slavery as slaves died out. Colombia decreed the 16th of July in 1821 that slaves should be free on their eighteenth birthday.²¹ England was the first English speaking country to abolish slavery in 1833. Abolition came later in the colonies in which slavery existed. It came to the West Indies in 1838. At this time it was also abolished in South Africa. Abolition came to India in 1843. France abolished slavery in 1848, Holland in 1863. This means that slavery was abolished in all of these countries before it was abolished in the United States in 1865. Puerto Rico and Cuba were Spanish colonies at that time. Puerto Rico abolished slavery in 1873 and Cuba in 1886. All of this means that Latin America had the distinction of initiating the abolition of slavery. It also had the distinction of having the last nation to abolish it. This country was Brazil, where slavery was not abolished until 1888.²²

José Ruiz Medrano's sermons was preached in the Cathedral of Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico the sixth day of December, 1960. It was preached to commemorate the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of emancipation of slaves in Mexico. Ruiz indicated that liberty is a divine attribute with which humanity has always named God. However, liberty is a two edged sword. It must be experienced in relationship to outward as well as inward pressures. In the first instance it means freedom from slavery. This came through the Christian Church. It was not accomplished by force, but by conviction. Towards the end of

²¹"Slavery," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1964), XX, 639.

²²"Slavery," *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1965), XXV, 24.

the Middle Ages slavery had practically disappeared from Christian countries. With the revival of Pagan culture in Europe came the revival of slavery. While in ancient societies slavery came as a result of bankruptcy, piracy or war, now it became a racial issue against Blacks and Indians. Ruiz names some who defended the Indians, including Bartolomé de las Casas, but not including Montesinos. He indicates that the final proclamation of emancipation of Indians came in 1550. He also indicates that the first proclamation of emancipation of all slaves was by Hidalgo the 6th of December, 1810. However, the groundwork for this was done by centuries of Christianity and by the Church.²³

Ruiz indicates that slavery comes as the end result of Pagan philosophy. Emancipation and liberty represent the result of the work of Christianity in the heart of humanity. In this he even makes the French Revolution to be the child of the Christian Church.²⁴

However, there is a problem in all of this that Ruiz does not bring to the open. This is the fact that Hidalgo was condemned by the Inquisition and by many Catholic clergymen since 1800.²⁵ He started the Mexican War of Independence in 1810. In the early stages of this conflict he proclaimed the emancipation of all slaves, but he was soon captured, condemned by the Church and executed by a Catholic government.²⁶

²³José Ruiz Medrano, *Una Voz de México* (México: Editorial Jus, 1962), pp. 105-123.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵*Procesos Inquisitorial y Militar Seguidos a Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1960), pp. 9-44

²⁶Ibid., pp. 122-374.

Once the nation was free, it soon ratified his proclamation of emancipation.

V. HUNGER

Hunger is not presented as a separate issue in the section on the laws of Moses. However, the poor, the widows and the foreigners could help themselves in different ways in order to solve their needs. These included reaping the borders of the fields and taking the gleanings that were dropped by the harvesters (Lv 19:9,10).

The solution to the problem of hunger in the earliest Biblical days was to move from one place to another. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob went to Egypt when there was hunger in Canaan (Gn 12:10; 26:1; 45). Even after the people of Israel had settled in Canaan they continued solving this problem this way. Elimelech and Naomi went to Moab because of the same problem (Rt 1). This means that all of them lived a semi-nomadic life. Even in our days hunger makes us be semi-nomadic. To a great extent this is the reason for many undocumented persons living here.

In New Testament times churches helped each other in times of hunger (Acts 11:29,30). Poverty and hunger were quite common in the churches founded by Paul in the Roman Empire (1 Co 11:21,22).

Translated Sermon. Hunger still exists today because of bad harvests. However, there are other reasons for this experience. These include the overpopulation of the world and the greed of men. The first problem is not mentioned as such by Catholic preachers. The second one is attacked vehemently.

Tihamer Toth preached a sermon on hunger around 1936 or 1937. It was translated into Spanish and published in Argentina and Spain. Its title is "Is there no Heavenly Father? Without Him there is no Economy."

Toth presents statistics of food that was destroyed in the 1930s in order to keep prices at a certain level. His statistics are for 1935. He indicates that in that year Brazil burned 7,750,000 sacs of coffee in one month; the United States sacrificed 6,200,000 heads of pork for chemical fertilizer, 2,000,000 tons of corn for fuel, 600,000 cows to keep the price of butter at a high level; California dumped 200,000 quarts of milk and 500,000 oranges to the sea; Florida left 10,000 hectares of strawberries without being harvested; Denmark sacrificed 24,000 cows; Holland 100,000 sucklings; Canada 30,000 tons of wheat; England much fish. All of this was done while many children did not have an idea of what milk tasted like, much less a slice of bread with butter.

God is the Great Provider. Humanity takes the food that belongs to all and uses it for the benefit of the few. This is not according to the will of God. The world must have a deeper sense of conscience concerning the needs of others that suffer for want of what some have in abundance.

Toth illustrates his speech with the experience of an Institute for the Blind in Massachussets. It was built without windows. Since they would not notice the difference, it was considered that they would not need them. This would represent a great saving in building costs. However, the blind did notice the difference, and fell ill. They recuperated when windows were added to the building. Toth indicates that the same thing happens with the world in relationship to hunger. The

world does not have any morality, conscience, justice or Decalogue.²⁷ Statistics for both dumping and hunger are worse now than at that time. There is no question but that the situation must change.

Héctor O. Oglietti. This television personality of Argentina preached a sermon on hunger during the decade of 1960. This sermon was entitled, "Hunter: the Embarrassment of the Century."

The first thing that Oglietti does in this sermon is to trace the history of hunger from time immemorial to our day. He begins with an Egyptian inscription dated before the time of Abraham. He goes through presentations from Genesis, Exodus, Kings and Joel (1:8,10,17,19). In classical Greek he begins with Hesiod. During the One Hundred Year War he indicates that dirt was mixed with flour to make bread. He quotes Fenelon, "All of France is nothing else than a desolate hospital without any provisions." Hunger is one of the reasons for the French Revolution, since men ate straw like sheep and died like flies. Even in the Nineteenth Century a million died of hunger in Ireland and one hundred million in China. India has also lost millions because of hunger. During the Twentieth Century millions died in Russia and the rest of Europe.

What can be done about hunger? Oglietti quotes Pope John XXIII concerning the need of richer countries coming to the aid of poorer nations. Rather than dumping agricultural products, these should be used to feed those that do not have enough to eat.

Oglietti also indicates that giving bread to poor nations is not the sum total of charity. They must also be provided with the necessary

²⁷Tihamer Toth, *Padre Nuestro que Estás en los Cielos*, I (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1942), 69-79.

means for their development. The Church must cooperate with FAO, the United Nations organization for the problems of food and hunger.

Oglietti sees three spheres in which the problem must be solved: justice, charity and education. By justice he means an increase in earthly resources and a better distribution of the same. By charity he means immediate and long range assistance. By education, preparing the peoples of the world to solve their own problems. He adds to this the migration of people from overpopulated to underpopulated areas.

He also considers that the source of food must be diversified. The oceans must produce more food. Synthetic food must be developed. Research and education must open new avenues to feed the masses.

The Church must accept the advances made along these lines by other institutions. He mentions specifically the United Nations. Argentina must help others because it has not experienced hunger. There must be a realization that whatever is done is done to Jesus.²⁸

This is a very extensive presentation of hunger and the solution that can be found for this problem in the world. Most of his principles are sound. However, he ignores family planning and the efforts of Protestants along these lines. In this he follows the Catholic hard line. He does admit that some places of the world are overpopulated. He would solve that problem with migrations, forgetting the means of limiting the population of the world. This points to two very important problems: 1) even the best land may have a bad season; and 2) there comes a point where the world itself will be overpopulated.

²⁸Héctor O. Oglietti, *El Evangelio sobre los Tejados* (Buenos Aires: Producciones Argentinas de Televisión, 1966), pp. 249-256.

Virgilio Pamio. One of his sermons was considered above in relationship to poverty. He also preached a sermon on hunger. This is the sermon that he prepared for the Sixth Sunday after Pentecost. This sermon relates hunger to the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus.

Concerning the relationship between Jesus and hunger Pamio speaks of the multiplication of the loaves for the multitudes. He indicates that the disciples sought human solutions to the problem, but Jesus presented divine solutions based on the compassion that He felt for the multitude. While it is true that the Church can not multiply the loaves, it can manifest the same compassion that Jesus had at that time. Hunger is not only a material problem, but also a spiritual problem, in which a spirit of love and of justice must be manifested.

In contrast with this he presents the example of the rich man of the parable. He had much food, but he did not share it with Lazarus.

The crowd that followed Jesus has now become a legion. Sixty per cent of the population of the world eats less than 2,250 calories which are required to sustain life. On the other hand, the Dutch dispose of 3,020; the Americans of 3,270 and the New Zealanders of 3,510 calories every day. This underfeeding of the majority of the population of the world is not limited to calories. It extends to vitamins and minerals. This puts the poor peoples of the world into a vicious circle. They are not as active as their more prosperous neighbors because they are undernourished. Their lessened activity makes them less productive, and thus fosters their undernourishment.

Pamio blames both Capitalism and Communism for this situation. One is unjust, the other destroys liberty. The Christian capitalist

world is like the evil rich man of the parable. His selfishness does not allow him to notice the poverty of Lazarus in his own country and in the nations that surround him.

This is not a parable against the rich, but against those that are evil and have riches. These call themselves Christians and practice the sin of selfishness.

In his final section Pamio indicates that the Church is the presence of Christ in the world today. It must help humanity to create means through which to support itself. The Church's efforts for peace took that flag away from Communism. Its efforts to feed the world must deprive them of the emblem of progress.

An interesting observation by Pamio in this sermon is that Christians share the blame for the problem of hunger in the world with Capitalism and Communism. This is because Christianity considered that this was the way in which it could share in the wealth of the rich. Some were kind and did not want to hurt the rich. Others soothed their conscience giving charity to solve immediate problems. Finally, others fought the establishment, including the Church. The sin of Christianity according to Pamio was not that it offended or purposely hurt the poor. Its sin was that it was indifferent to their needs. Why such an indifference? Because the Church looks upon the sins of the individual, rather than upon those of society.²⁹

The fusion of the feeding of the multitudes with the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus was a masterful stroke in this sermon. The application of these parables to the modern situation was also great. God

²⁹Pamio, pp. 335-346.

is the great provider. If the Church cannot multiply the loaves, it can and should bring compassion to the world. However, it has very often sided with the Rich man against Lazarus. On the other hand, the national organizations of the Catholic Church have joined with FAO to feed the hungry of the world.

However, this sermon also has its weaknesses. Pamio credits the Church with all of the initiatives to help humanity. In this he is limiting himself to the Catholic Church. He only has accusations against Protestants for wanting to limit the population. He also invites them to join the efforts of the Catholic Church. Completely ignored are the efforts and the initiative that so often come from some of the smaller but more active organizations such as the Salvation Army.

By and large this sermon has a positive effect. It does provide some food for thought, especially to those that have been blessed with riches. As far as Latin America is concerned, the great majority of these are found in the Catholic Church.

VI. SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to consider that which Spanish preachers had to say concerning social problems. These included the problem of the poor and poverty, workers and their wages, orphans, slavery and hunger. The last two are covered more fully because the greatest achievements of Spanish preaching were in the problem of slavery and they have said more about hunger than about the other problems.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to present their solutions to these problems or the defense they have made to materialistic

solutions to them. This may be presented in passing because they have been mentioned in their sermons. However, this will be considered more fully in the following chapters.

The Poor and Poverty. Five sermons on these topics were considered in this chapter. Two of these were sermons translated from the French, the others were originally preached in Spanish. One of the sermons translated from the French and one of the Spanish sermons were preached by laymen and not by professional preachers. The Spanish sermon was preached in Mexico by José de Jesús Cuevas, a lawyer at the turn of the century. The probable reason for these two sermons was that in preaching general sermons on poverty, these laymen were contributing to the total efforts of the Church while not endangering their membership. The memory of the Inquisition was still strong when these sermons were preached in the Nineteenth Century.

The sermons preached by these laymen requested patience on the part of the poor in relation to their problems. They also requested the support of the rich for the poor. This was a continuation of the paternalistic attitude of the rich towards the poor.

Ricaurte was one of the priests that preached one of the sermons on poverty that were preached by ministers. His sermon was delivered at the groundbreaking ceremony of a chapel next to a hospital for the poor. At such a time it was not appropriate to present new concepts. However, he did indicate that the state does have an obligation. This sermon was preached in the 1930's.

During the decade of the 1960's, Pamio preached a sermon in Argentina that comes closer to the concepts of Liberation Theology than

those that are considered above. This is to be expected, since he preached at a time in which this theology was beginning. He spoke of the poverty of John the Baptist and of Jesus and indicated that the Church must identify itself with the poor.

Workers and their Wages. This sermon was also preached in the 1960's. It was preached by Pellín, Auxilliary Bishop in Venezuela's capital. He presented four principles that should guide the amount a worker receives as wages: 1) they should be enough for him to live decently; 2) some people must not be denied that which others have in abundance; 3) each person has a right to property; and 4) the dignity of all workers must be respected.

The duty of the Church in all of this is to improve the condition under which its members and the population in general must earn a living. It must also identify itself with the poor. This is something that the Catholic Church has only begun doing in recent years.

Orphans. Pellín also preached this sermon on the Centennial of the Orphanage in Caracas. He indicated that to serve them was a social, religious and patriotic obligation. He indicated that the State must continue supporting the efforts of the Church in their favor. In this he indicates that he still favors the old relationship between the Church and the State. He also indicates that the State was endeavoring to break this relationship.

Slaves and Slavery. Three sermons were preached on this issue out of all of the sermons considered in this study. The first two are the earliest sermons on social issues in Spanish.

Spanish preaching on this topic was very effective. It was directly instrumental in bringing about laws that eventually resulted in the abolition of slavery of Indians. It must also have been instrumental in bringing about the abolition of all slavery, since former Spanish colonies were the first in the world to free the slaves.

The first two sermons were preached by Montesinos shortly after the conquest of what now is the Dominican Republic. He considered himself to be as John the Baptist, a lonely voice speaking in the desert. He was persecuted because of his stand and had to defend his position in the presence of the King of Spain. He eventually succeeded in bringing about more humanitarian laws in favor of the Indians. Bartolomé de las Casas read his sermons and continued his fight for the Indians.

The third sermon was preached by Ruiz Medrano in Guadalajara, Mexico. It was preached in 1960, the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of all slavery from Mexico. This was done by the father of Mexican Independence, Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla.

Hunger. Three sermons on this topic were considered. The first one was a translated sermon of Toth, a Hungarian Bishop. His main concern was against the dumping of food by rich countries at a time when there was famine in other parts of the world. This sermon was preached in the late 1930's.

Oglietti also preached a sermon on this subject. He indicated that the problem of hunger had three spheres in which it must be solved. These were justice, charity and education. He did not consider it right that some should have more than they need of things that others lack. When the problem becomes acute, provisions must be sent to

those in need. However, the greatest solution to the problem rests in educating those that do not have to be able to provide for themselves. This sermon was preached in Argentina in the 1960's.

Pamio presented the problem of overeating in some countries while others did not have enough calories in their diets. This lack of calories also represents a deficiency in vitamins and minerals. A scarce diet results in a lack of energy to perform the duties that are necessary to improve that diet. This makes the diet to be even worse. Thus, poor countries are living in a vicious circle of malnutrition and lack of productivity.

He blames this situation on the rich capitalists and on the communists. However, he does not consider the Church to be innocent, since it has identified itself with the rich throughout the ages. This means that it should identify with the poor, as proclaimed in the sermons on poverty in general.

The multiplication of the loaves and the fishes and the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus were used as the basis of this sermon. God provides abundantly for the world, but the rich use this selfishly on themselves.

The weakness of these last two sermons is that they ignore and attack the plan of limiting the population of the world and they also ignore the contribution of Protestants to the solution of the problem of hunger. They consider that this has been accomplished by Catholics and the United Nations.

CHAPTER XII

SOLUTIONS TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The purpose of this chapter is to consider what Spanish preachers had to say concerning the solutions to social problems. There are two main points of view to these problems. The first one is the reaction of Spanish preachers to human solutions to the problem. The other is a presentation of the solutions offered by the Church.

Chapter XI dealt mainly with the problems that are faced along these lines. However, some solutions were offered in those sermons. The sermons that are considered in this chapter are those that deal more directly with the solution to the problem rather than with the problem itself. However, some overlapping is inevitable.

I. SOCIO-POLITICAL SOLUTIONS

This section is to consider the reaction of Spanish preachers to man made solutions to the problem of poverty. The socio-political solutions that were offered differ from time to time. Thus, the reaction may not always be the same.

Pedro María de Torrecilla. One of the six sermons of this group was preached by Pedro María de Torrecilla. He was a Spanish preacher of the first half of the Nineteenth Century. He published several collections of sermons in France. This could indicate that he had to live in exile.

Very little is known of his life. Actually, he is not mentioned either in Spanish Encyclopaedias or in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

This could be because he could have been an *afrancesado* in Napoleon's time or a Jansenist. Another collection of sermons was published at this time by Vicente Canos in Paris and Mexico City. His name is not mentioned either in the encyclopaedias. However, a man by the name of Melchor Cano is mentioned among the Jansenists of the time of the French invasion of Spain that brought about the reign of Joseph Bonaparte in the Iberian Peninsula.¹

However, Torrecilla was a Spaniard. This can be seen in his writings and in his sermons. In a sermon that was preached to the National Assembly he said:

Every year the sufferings of the country are presented to you. The population is suffering, society has thousands of ills. The burdens are constantly increasing while resources are diminishing. Our cities, our villages, our smallest towns *are not richer, nor happier, nor more populous*. Your fellow citizens have lost many goods. Commerce is going through many difficulties. Industry is not being favored. Those that just a short time ago were in a position in which they could *give generous alms to help the poor, today must live out of public charity*. After many years of sterility, *there barely is one in which there are mediocre hopes in agriculture*.²

These statements apply to Spain during the first half of the Nineteenth Century, and not to France. This is particularly true of those that are in italics. The same is true of the statement in which Torrecilla invited these very same listeners to "remember those happy times in which peace reigned in all of this great republic."³ This again applies to Spain, particularly to the time in which the Liberals

¹Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, VII (Buenos Aires:Espasa-Calpe Argentina, 1951), 15.

²Pedro María de Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Ceremonias Sagradas*, I (París:Rosa Boruet y Cía., 1856), 262

³Ibid., I, 295.

were able to limit the power of the King and even to depose him.

In another sermon preached to these very same people in times of national distress Torrecilla makes reference to victories in battle that were enjoyed by the few over the many. He presents the example of Amassiah, Judas the Maccabee, Abraham, Joshua, Jonathan, Samson and Asa, before stating "I omit the Gideons, Ferdinands of Castille, James' of Aragón and the Prince of Montfort, who with much smaller forces sustained God's cause and triumphed over their enemies."⁴ While it is true that he mentioned a French hero, it is also true that he did this only after mentioning two Spanish heroes. This indicates that he was a Spaniard who was influenced by the French.

In another sermon that was preached in the inauguration of a Court of Justice, Torrecilla said the following:

Encouraged by these ideas, that are those of religion, morality and the conservation of the public good, the Recaredos, the Sisebustos, the Ramiros, the Alfonsos, the Ferdinands, the Isabels, governed and increased their estates. Their actions were governed by the level of justice and they served as examples of their judges and of the magistrates that were under them. It should be sufficient to bring to memory the conduct of the holy King Ferdinand with Rui Díaz, Lord of the Cameros; with Diego López de Haro, Lord of Vizcaya, and many other great personalities of his kingdom. It should be sufficient to consider the execution of Henry III with the Guzmánes and Ponces de León in Seville. In order not to tire you, it should be sufficient to consider the strength of Ferdinand V of Aragón and his wife, Isabel the Catholic, in the administration of justice to all peoples, without exception of any individual, knowing that which God ordained, and that in which He was happy. In this more than in anything else consisted the happiness of their estates.⁵

It should be noticed that Torrecilla here mentioned twelve persons. The names of all of them are Spanish names. In one case he indicates that the events took place in Seville. There can be no question

⁴Ibid., II, 183.

⁵Ibid., II, 321, 322.

concerning the origin of Ferdinand and Isabel. Recaredo was the name of a Visigothic King of the Sixth Century and another one of the Seventh Century of our era, as well as of a Spanish Bishop of the later part of the Ninth and first part of the Tenth Centuries.⁶ Sisebuto was the name of another Visigothic King of the first part of the Seventh Century as well as an Abbot of a monastery near Burgos in the later part of the Eleventh Century.⁷ Ramiro was the name of several kings in different kingdoms in Spain between the Ninth and the Twelfth Centuries of our era as well as a French Abbot of the last part of the Seventh Century.⁸ The problem between Alfonso and Rui Díaz was quite well known in Spanish history⁹ as well as that of Diego López de Haro.¹⁰ Torrecilla also mentions the lack of justice in two different countries and two periods of the history of the Mediterranean world. ¿Rome in the times of Marius and Silas and Spain in those of Witiza and Rodrigo indicate clearly the sad effects of the lack of justice."¹¹ All of this indicates clearly his deep knowledge of Spanish history.

These are not only references to Spanish history, but also to relatively unknown incidents in that history, going all the way back to Visigothic times. Such a knowledge and such interest in Spanish history

⁶"Recaredo," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, 49 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1908, 1958), 1136-1138.

⁷"Sisebuto," *Ibid.*, 56, 819.

⁸"Ramiro," *Ibid.*, 49, 531-538.

⁹"Alfonso," *Ibid.*, 4, 586-614; "Rui Díaz," *Ibid.*, 52, 740, 741.

¹⁰"López de Haro, Diego," *Ibid.*, 31, 146.

¹¹Torrecilla, II, 322.

above the history of any other nation reflects a Spanish personality and not one of any other cultural heritage.

To date Torrecilla's life is as difficult as to determine his nationality. However, there are many indications of the dates in which he performed his work. There are statements that indicate this.

It has already been established that his collections of sermons were published between 1851 and 1856. This means that as far as these sermons are concerned, he cannot be dated after 1856.

More than twice he mentions the life of Christ as something that took place eighteen centuries before his time.¹² This is an approximate figure, since he also indicates that "almost 1900 years have passed already since the time of our divine Saviour until our time."¹³ This could mean that he should be dated after 1840.

He mentions Voltaire as a figure of the previous century.¹⁴ This again places him in the Nineteenth Century, since Voltaire lived between 1694 and 1778.

In one of his books he makes a list of famous preachers. He includes several Spanish preachers of the Nineteenth Century. The names of these preachers together with their dates are as follows:¹⁵ Miguel de Santander, 1744-1831;¹⁶ Manuel Fortea, who died in Madrid in 1825 and

¹²Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Demostraciones Católicas*, II (París: Rosa Bouret y Cía., 1856), 37; Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Sermones Morales*, I (París: Rosa Bouret y Cía., 1854), 527; *Ibid.*, III, 54.

¹³Torrecilla, *Demostraciones Católicas*, II, 279.

¹⁴Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, I, 68. ¹⁵*Ibid.*, I, 60.

¹⁶"Santander, Miguel de," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, 54, 218.

fought against the French invasion and for the independence of his country;¹⁷ Pantaleón García, an Argentine preacher who lived between 1757 and 1827 and also preached in favor of the independence of his country;¹⁸ finally, José de Jesús Muñoz Capilla, another Spanish preacher who lived between 1771 and 1840.¹⁹

The inclusion of all of these preachers indicates that Torrecilla belonged to the Nineteenth Century. However, even more significant is the fact that he includes in one of his volumes a sermon preached by Idelfonso García in Buenos Aires in 1844.²⁰ This confirms that Torrecilla's major work must be dated after 1840 and before 1855.

Torrecilla preached one sermon concerning the socio-political solutions to the social problems that have been considered in this study. Actually, it could be considered a call to repentance after the sins that placed Spain in such an unfortunate situation. It was preached at the opening of the Legislative Congress in a time of public misfortunes. Spain had been rich, but now it was poor because of the conquest of its territory by the French and the loss of most of its colonies.

Torrecilla indicates that the people complained because of this calamity. They had only a vestige of the riches of their parents. War was practically universal. The government needed the heavy taxes it imposed on them, but they could not bear them.

¹⁷"Fortea, Manuel," Ibid., 24, 556.

¹⁸"García, Pantaleón," Ibid., 25, 767.

¹⁹"Muñoz Capilla, José de Jesús," Ibid., 37, 420, 421.

²⁰Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Conferencias Catequistas*, III (París: Rosa Bouret y Cía., 1857), 209.

He indicated that these experiences were deserved because of the sins of the people. It is not easy to save the soul in time of peace and prosperity, so God permits the punishment of His people. If it is great, it is because of the greatness of their sins. Churches are empty, and even those that attend do so to hear certain individuals preach.

God judges in two ways, with invisible and with visible manifestations. Torrecilla indicates that his listeners have been complaining and backbiting rather than mending their ways.

His country, whose representatives were the congregation of this sermon, had long experienced the ease acquisition of goods. It had even been hard for them to lose them. However, this experience did not draw them close to God. Their experience can be compared to that of the fall of Rome. Torrecilla quotes from Augustine and Jerome who lived during this experience. Jerome's statement has a special and specific application to the situation confronted by Spain at this time.

Torrecilla presents prayer as a solution to their problems. However, people complain more than they pray. He prays that God may bring peace to the world. That God, who is the God of Peace and the God of Hosts. Once this peace is achieved, may it not be used licentiously, but in rest; may prosperity not be abused, but may it be a means to move ahead in sanctification.²¹

Calling the leaders of the nation to repentance, Torrecilla calls all of its people to share in this experience. It should not be motivated by their suffering of the punishment, but by a consideration

²¹Torrecilla, *Ceremonias Sagradas*, I, 278-299.

of the magnitude of their sins. It should come as a result of the pain of sin because of an offended God.

The social implications of this sermon are very significant. Torrecilla indicates that the rich accumulate always more. However, their prosperity, which should result in thankfulness to God, ends in sin. In spite of their riches, the rich do not seek Him. It is not easy for them to be saved. Because of this they are afflicted.

Riches have been acquired through deceit and enjoyed selfishly. They have become an idol, and God has destroyed this idol. This should bring about repentance, but often this is not the case.

Listen! Those ill gained profits with which you want to increase your property; that unfortunate indulgence in vanity; that futile concern you had to exhibit them to the world without undoing the cords that bind you to innocence; that sacrifice rendered them that belongs only to God; these are the true causes of your affliction and disgrace. The Lord has broken that idol. He has offered that victim of your sins to His righteousness. ...

You blame the bad disposition of the judge, the requests of friends of the other side, probably even bribes, credit or surprise. You should rather blame those injustices that you have committed because of your selfishness; those dishonest procedures that your spirit has led you to follow in order to acquire that which belonged to someone else; those shares that you have used against so many persons. God's righteousness has condemned you to lose those goods that He takes away from you through man's justice.²²

Repentance should be the final cure for sin. This includes the social sin of the injustice committed against the Indians and the Black people who have served Spain so well in the past and now gained their independence. He also invites his listeners to prayer and to good works. What good works is he talking about? He does not say this clearly. However, since their riches were acquired through their deceit and their

²²Ibid., I, 285.

stealing, the only good works that counteract these sins are to return that which they stole and not to speak evil of others. This would indicate that Torrecilla was inviting Spain to accept thankfully the fact of Latin American independence and renew their efforts to improve their own future as well as that of their former colonies.

Albino González Menéndez-Reigada. This friar was the Bishop of Córdoba in southern Spain when he presented six lectures on social problems in 1948. These speeches were presented in the Menéndez Pelayo International University in Santander, by the Bay of Biscay in northern Spain, far from the Bishop's jurisdiction. Yet he discusses the situation in his bishopric quite extensively. These lectures were presented between August 16 and 21, 1948 and published in Madrid in 1949.²³

In his first sermon González indicates that the Twentieth Century began with optimism. Whoever said anything to the contrary was a prophet of doom. Crime was to disappear because of Socialism's omnipotence. Woman was to be liberated. There would be constant progress because of the absolute use of man's intelligence. All would have culture. There would be no more wars. Conflicts would be solved by diplomacy. Wars existed because of tyrants, with democracy, people would not fight against each other. The socialists of one nation would not fight against those of another nation. However, this is not so.

This was noticed all along. Prophets of doom began to appear. Bourget spoke of the contradiction between deeds and theory. Brunetier

²³Albino González Menéndez-Reigada, *Directrices Cristianas de Ordenación Social* (Madrid: Seminario de Problemas Hispanoamericanos, 1949), p. 7.

spoke of the failure of science. Some considered that it had not failed. Its purpose was to teach truth, not to provide happiness. González indicates that truth must lead to perfection and this to happiness.

A new euphoria came with Wilson, which reinforced the philosophy of the Nineteenth Century. However, with the depression and the Second World War, it did not last. Everything seemed to indicate a failure of the social structure as known till that time. Both the myth of race of Nietzsche and Hitler and the myth of class of Communism indicated that there was no solution. Others sought a solution in a "New Christianity." This would not change Christ, but man. González' lectures were to indicate a new way within the framework of Catholicism.²⁴

This sermon is an introduction to his following sermons. However, González indicates that humanity sought a solution to its problems through democracy, socialism, diplomacy, education and science, and all of them failed in the Nineteenth Century. With this he invites his audience and his readers to pay attention to the solution that he has to offer based on traditional Christianity, that is, Catholicism.

José Ruiz Medrano. One of his sermons was considered in the previous chapter. He also preached a sermon on the solutions presented by the world to the social problems that exist upon the earth. This sermon must have been preached approximately at the same time as the former one. This means it could have been preached in the spring of 1961. Since this sermon is not abridged at the end of this study, some portions of it will appear below.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 11-46.

This sermon can be considered to be political rather than social. It was preached against the infiltration of communism among Catholic youth. However, it does cover some social issues.

Ruiz indicates that atheism, materialism and determinism are the three ingredients of communism that have existed since antiquity. What has been done is to add socialism to them and make the approach scientific in order that it may have respectability today.²⁵

The objective of Communism is to finish with those that have exploited society. This has been done mainly by the rich landlords. The Church and the State have been their accomplices.

Marx presents the "only" solution: to finish with the exploiters and their accomplices. Who are they? The landlords, the owners of industry, the leaders of the jobs, of production and of capital gain. The accomplices? State and Religion, institutions that have been created in order to strengthen and sustain capitalism. Religion, especially the Christian Religion, preaching patience and resignation, humility and obedience, the Kingdom of Heaven and future justice, mesmerizes and stops in the people the irrepressible impetus for revenge and the annihilation of the rich. Religion sanctions bourgeois property and makes herself an accomplice of exploitation. Actually, she is also an exploiter.²⁶

Communism confronts all of this with the Kingdom of Earth. To achieve it, a purgatory is needed. This is the struggle that the masses must face in the form of revolution, terror and violence. Then, the new kind of Messianic Era will come. Ruiz indicates that it is logical that this doctrine was accepted in Russia, a country with its own Messianic tradition, calling itself "Holy Russia." It is a country that has been enslaved and has felt that its mission is the liberation of humanity.

²⁵José Ruiz Medrano, *Una Voz de México* (México: Editorial Jus, 1962), pp. 149-156.

²⁶Ibid., p. 158.

Communism has felt that the union of the working class with the youth and the intellectual class will accomplish this end. It appeals to the philosopher making a contrast between ancient philosophy and its effort to "interpret" reality and Communism's endeavor to "transform" and create it. Teachers are reminded that Communism was born in the University. The rebellious spirit of the youth as well as their admiration of power is exploited. It is interesting to note that the rebelliousness of youth submits to discipline and obedience to a strong leader who tries to create a new world.

Ruiz adds that there is only one power that can overcome Communism. This is Christ through His Christians. He compares the struggle of the Church with that of David and Goliath. The same armament is available to the Church that was in David's hand, the rock and the cross.²⁷ The dialectic of Christ in the face of this challenge is very significant:

When Christ had to die, the Jews gave Him the cross; when He had to be resurrected, Death gave Him the grave and the world gave Him the soldiers, the rock and the seals. ...

In liberal times, when men became bourgeois, trusting in the certainty of their riches, and forgetful of the condition of the poor, and blind to social injustices, God permitted the emergence of the Leviathan of the Proletariat, as a threat and a severe warning to Christians, that the Lord made the earth and its goods for the benefit of all of His children. Riches have a social, that is, a fraternal mission. The heart that is not free of its gold can not enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Today, when souls, societies and nations have "materialized" themselves, Communism comes to open our eyes, to discover unto us how low Materialism can go, all the way down to hatred, debasement and slavery.²⁸

In his conclusion Ruiz appeals to the young people to face the challenge of the hour:

²⁷Ibid., pp. 159, 160, 162-165.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 166, 167.

Young people, we are hearing Goliath's challenge, "Look for a Champion to face me!" In Goliath's day, the Champion was a young man, David. ... This is the hour of David, it is your hour!

Go forth, then, from among the crowd of atheists and communists that surround you. Face the Giant with the arms of Christ: with faith in the Resurrected Christ and with the cross of your own sacrifice. Let us see who overcomes, Goliath or David. He, armed with all of the weapons of the Devil and of Death, or you, fighting in the name of God.

Jesus, two thousand years ago you defeated the greatest Giants that challenged you: the world, the Devil and death. ... Repeat today your feat, through your Christians, whose history is only a continuation of your own history. Their life is a "Holy Week" of centuries. ... We know times of Goliath and times of David; times in which Giants rise and times in which they are defeated. We go from defeat to defeat, from victory to victory, from death to death, from resurrection to resurrection!

The challenge of your power answered the challenge of Goliath, Moloch or Minotaurus: ... I have overcome the world! Communism takes pride in its "dialectic," but in reality, you are the only one who knows the true dialectic, that which comes from God: to take the opposite out of everything. From error you take a sparkle of truth; from weakness, strength; from death, life. Only you have David's dialectic, to take the Giant's sword and kill him with it! Only you can bring great benefits out of great evils. From communism shall come the light of your glory and the good of your Church.

Because of this, even in this hour, your Christians live with the assurance of an always renewed triumph until the final victory, when you will put your enemies for your foot stool (1 Co 15:25). For this reason our song can only be the Hallelujah of Victory.²⁹

Communism is the solution created by humanity that is attacked in this sermon. He invites the youth to be like David in his struggle against Goliath. They must meet the challenge in their own hearts. Communism opens the eyes of the Christian to see to what point materialism can take him. This should be rejected completely

Héctor O. Oglietti. A little later Oglietti preached against communism in Argentina. At least three of these sermons were published.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 167-169.

One of them is reproduced in an abbreviated form in the Appendix of this study. This sermon is entitled "Communist Co., Inc." The message of the other two is considered below without the benefit of an abridgment. All of these sermons were preached on Argentine television.

In "Communism Co., Inc." Oglietti actually compares Capitalism, Communism and Christianity. He indicates that both Capitalism and Communism have oppressed the laborer. However, the oppression of Capitalism is insignificant when compared to the oppression of Communism.

Communism has offered the workers bread, but it has not stated that in order to receive it under their system it is necessary for the workers to worship it.

Oglietti indicates that he is well acquainted with conditions in Russia. The "classless" society has many classes. Out of 200 million people in Russia, only 2-4% belong to the party. Out of these, only 180,000 control the country, and this is called "Popular Democracy." He compares this with Argentina, with one tenth of Russia's population and 10% of the population having businesses or farms. This represents two million people or 500,000 families controlling the country. If it were the same as Russia, only 18,000 persons.

Oglietti divides the Russian "classless" society into six classes. The first one represented by those that are virtually slaves in concentration camps. They are forced to be "voluntary" laborers for the state. These represent 3-6% of the population. Workers and farmers represent 53-56% of the people. They receive much less than their Western counterparts and cannot protest. The third group represent the lowest privileged caste. They are administrative and technical functionaries

and constitute 26% of the population. The military and the police are more or less at their level. The fifth group, 6.4% are the engineers, physicians and scientists who earn from six to thirty-four times more than the workers. Finally, the leaders, who live in luxury.

Communists believe they love the poor because they hate the rich, but actually, they do not love anyone. What they do is to have a war against God. In order to achieve a real classless society, what they need is a change of heart, and only God can grant this. Ambition and selfishness are the real problem of humanity, and only God can bring about a real change from this.³⁰

The things that Oglietti did not mention are almost as important as those that he did mention. It is true that many have died in Siberia, but the West has also had its concentration camps with political prisoners. Even the Church has persecuted and ordered the execution of dissenters.

Oglietti correctly indicates that a "new man" is needed to do away with envy. Should the rich disappear, the poor would still be envious. It is very significant that he did not see that he was calling for the conversion of these people. The fact that Catholics do not emphasize the "new birth" is seen in his not using the figure to its fullest application.

He mentioned the existence of slavery in communism in the Twentieth Century. A form of slavery exists among the oppressed in other lands. This includes the lot of undocumented workers and workers of

³⁰Héctor O. Oglietti, *El Evangelio sobre los Tejados* (Buenos Aires: Producciones Argentinas de Televisión, 1966), pp. 23-29.

giant international corporations, especially in agriculture, such as the United Fruit Company. All of this existed even with the silent approval of the Church.

There is not question that this was a timely message in the sixties. It is significant for what it says and for what it does not say.

He deals with communism also in another sermon entitled "The Theology of Russian Communism." This sermon has a few social ideas related to Christianity. He indicates that communism is a sort of religious agitation. The purpose of redeeming the world from evil is seen in its teachings. The objective is to bring a kingdom of justice. The proletariat has a universal redemptive objective.³¹

The Russian farmers were very religious. One of their convictions has been inherited by communism. They believed that the land belongs to God, just like the air, the light and the sea. It could not belong to individuals as private property.³² How much has the lot of the peasant in Russia improved without private property?

Russia venerated its old saints in its icons. Modern icons have been raised to Lenin and more recently to Stalin.³³ It cannot be denied that there is an almost cultic veneration of Lenin's grave. This approaches the veneration of the grave of Mohammed.

All of this means that this sermon touches both the religious and the social aspects of Communism. This includes the problem of private property, redemption, a new earth and veneration of the dead.

The third sermon is "The Revolution of the Sons of God." In this sermon Oglietti admits that "many ... biographical data ... are

³¹Ibid., pp. 115, 116. ³²Ibid., p. 115. ³³Ibid., pp. 115, 116.

taken from a lecture of Mons. Fulton Sheen,³⁴ To a certain extent this lecture or sermon could be considered to be a translation, rather than an original sermon. It deals more with the political problem of anti-communism than with the social problem that both Communism and Christianity try to solve.

Oglietti considers that Communism is a union of men without God. It is also an organization that has been set up to persecute religion. It does not permit religion to proselytize, while atheism is taught in all of the schools starting with the first grade. In spite of this, young people flock to the churches in Russia. This is partially because of their need of spiritual and emotional stability. Once they go to the churches they are impressed with the fact that the priests speak without notes. This indicates the sincerity of the priests in believing that which they are preaching and their knowledge of the gospel.

The closest that Oglietti comes to facing social problems in this sermon is when he indicates that Russia's government, instead of eliminating Capitalism, has become ultracapitalistic. However, the people do not give their souls to the government. They attend church in spite of the constant efforts of the government to suppress religion. Oglietti compares the Russian people to the woman who falls in love, but tells her husband that he can have her body, but never her soul (*doucha*).³⁵

In this one of Oglietti's characteristics as a preacher stands out. This is his knowledge of Russian folklore and not only of statistical facts concerning Russia.

³⁴Ibid., p. 248.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 241-248.

Jesús María Pellín, Two of Pellín's sermons have been considered in the previous chapter. He also preached a sermon against the human solutions to social problems. This sermon is entitled "Capitalism, Communism and Socialism."

This sermon is not based on a Biblical text. He does present a thought of Pope Pius XII: "Only Christ has the solution for the great problems that torment contemporary humanity."³⁶

Pellín indicates that man has tried to solve his social problems in three different ways. These are Capitalism, Communism and Socialism. He indicates that Communism has failed because of its inhumanity. However, the misery in which millions live because of Capitalism fosters Communism. Capitalism has to its credit that it has fostered scientific, economic and technical growth, but it separated families and made even small children to work.

However, Communism, which was supposed to save the laborer from the oppression imposed upon him by Capitalism, has made him even more unfortunate than Capitalism.

Pellín cannot define the impact of Socialism, since it appears in many colors and shades. The people expect everything from the state. There is no doctrine of the individual, the family or human destiny. Religion is a personal matter.

Much of this speech is based on Cardijn. He indicates that only Christianity can bring the solution to modern man's social problem. Only Christ's apostleship gives meaning to the totality of our lives. Only

³⁶Jesús María Pellín, *Testimonio* (Caracas: Editorial Revista Lor, 1970), p. 294.

when man loves his fellowmen because he loves God will he solve his social problems. He will only then learn to trust his superiors as equals in the presence of God.³⁷

This could be considered to be more of a speech than a sermon. Its inspiration is based on a Papal Encyclical rather than on a Biblical text. However, as a Catholic, it could have had the same importance as the Bible. Even then, as in his sermon on "The Dignity of the Laborer and his Wages," where he does quote the Bible, he makes his own speech. In both cases he ignores the statements after he quotes them

However, Pius' statement does present the proposition of his speech. This is that only Christ can solve the social problems of our time. He will do this only through the Catholic Church. All other systems are worthless. This means that this speech seems to indicate that the Catholic Church must dominate society because of the failure of Capitalism, Communism and Socialism. In Cardijn's thinking, which was espoused by Pellín, Socialism's tenet that religion is a private matter of the individual is rejected. They seem to infer that this should be a decision of the new ruler of society, the Church. Actually, this takes the situation back to what it was in the Middle Ages.

II. CHRISTIAN SOLUTIONS

Torrecilla preached a sermon to the Spanish nobility to encourage them after many misfortunes came upon the nation, including the loss of their colonies. Colonialism failed in its efforts to solve the problems of humanity. Nineteenth Century Spanish preaching recognized this.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 294-296.

Several sermons were preached during the Twentieth Century indicating the failure of Capitalism, Socialism and Communism. The later system was represented as a complete failure in a stronger way than the first two systems.

What was the alternative? The Church had an alternative. Pellín's sermon indicated that everything must come under the dominion of the Church. What did the Church really have to offer?

Different sermons answer this question. They were preached in different lands and at different times. The solution presented by the Church differs depending on these circumstances.

Translated Sermons. Three of these sermons were translated into Spanish from other languages. The first two that are going to be considered were preached by Paolo Segneri, an Italian preacher of the Seventeenth Century (1624-1694). Actually, he is considered to be the best Italian preacher since Bernard de Siene and Savonarola. His preaching has been compared to that of Bordalue.³⁸

Segneri's two sermons related to Christian solutions to social problems are on almsgiving. The first one is entitled "Sermon on Almsgiving." The second one, "The Manner in Which Alms Should be Given."

The proposition of the first sermon is that the rich should give alms willingly and by obligation. They should give willingly from their overabundant supply when dealing with a person that has a serious need, who would be in a situation of misery if he did not receive any help. They should be forced to help those in extreme need, where it is

³⁸"Segneri, Paolo," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, XIII (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 48, 49.

a matter of life or death if the person is not helped. God provides in such a way that the more that is given, the more there is to give. Segneri illustrates this in the mother who feeds her child from the breast. The one who does not do it, loses her milk. He also used an illustration that was very meaningful then, but ridiculous today. It is of a physician that bleeds a patient to cure a wound. He illustrates giving by force with the bees, who sometimes provide honey willingly and sometimes by force. He also used the illustration of the Indus and Nile rivers, who make a double harvest possible. The ideal is to give willingly to God in the poor.³⁹

In his second sermon Segneri indicated that the poor in his day complained that charity had been lost. He also said that this was untrue. The challenge was to recognize a true almsgiver. These could be recognized in their hand, their face and their eyes.

To give abundantly is to give charity. He illustrates this with a few drops of water which are not called rain, but much water receives this name. Quoting Clement he indicates that Christians in those days fasted in order to be able to give. However, in the time of Segneri, their hands were tight and unwilling to be opened for the poor.

To lift the eyes to heaven means to help the poor while thinking about God. Even Nero, at the beginning of his reign, was kind to others considering that they shared his nature. The presence of Jesus is seen in the host and in the poor. Thus, we must not be like the pagans, but we must help the poor because this is recommended by Christ.

³⁹Pablo Señeri, *El Cristiano Instruido en su Ley, Discursos Morales y Doctrinales*, I (Madrid: Higinio Beneses, 1858), 309-330.

In his conclusion Segneri reiterates the three reasons for giving to the poor. They should be helped with a willing hand, a smiling face and eyes looking into heaven.⁴⁰

Both sermons are excellent topical sermons. Both of them used the Bible and the Church Fathers extensively. However, Segneri did accommodate these to his arguments. On the other hand, this does not detract from the truthfulness of his message.

The third sermon on this subject was translated from the French during the first part of the Nineteenth Century. It was preached by Felix Antoine Philibert Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, and presented in Torrecilla's collection.⁴¹

Dupanloup was the illegitimate son of a country girl and a member of the nobility. He was born in 1802 and died in 1878. He was appointed Bishop of Orleans in 1849 and as such was quite authoritarian. Later he became a member of the French Academy (1854), the National Assembly (1871) and finally a Senator (1875). Renan called him "an unrivaled educator." However, the Church did not accept him fully even though it recognized him as a good pastor. This was because of his moderate liberal position which is more acceptable today than in the Nineteenth Century.⁴²

Dupanloup, like Segneri, preached a sermon on almsgiving. In this sermon he hoped to enlighten and not to disturb the conscience of

⁴⁰Ibid., I, 331-348.

⁴¹Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 122.

⁴²"Dupanloup, Felix Antoine Philibert," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 1108, 1109.

his listeners. He indicated that almsgiving was a requirement of God taught in the law of human nature as well as in the law that was repeated upon Sinai and expanded in the books of Wisdom. From the New Testament he used the parable of the Good Samaritan and the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. Not wanting to close it with a negative statement, he closed his sermon with the parable of the Sheep and the Goats.

Dupanloup indicated that almsgiving is an obligation according to the possibilities of each individual. Actually, the poor themselves are often more liberal than the rich, giving their bread to those that are worse off than they are. He also indicated that the rich must show kindness and paternal love toward the poor.⁴³

Santiago José García Mazo. Around this time García Mazo was preaching in Spain. He was born in 1768 and studied both theology and philosophy at Salamanca. In 1796 he was ordained to the priesthood. In 1822 he acquired by opposition the canonical magistracy of Valladolid. He wrote a catechism in 1837 that was later translated and published in Portuguese and French. He died in 1849.⁴⁴

García Mazo used the Bible extensively in this sermon. He even used a Spanish translation that had just been authorized by the Church. This will be considered more extensively in another chapter.

He considered that poverty and riches were a way in which God was endeavoring to sanctify humanity. The rich with charity, the poor with humility; the rich with liberality, the poor with thankfulness.

⁴³Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 127-135.

⁴⁴"García Mazo, Santiago José," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, 25, 811.

He spoke of three kinds of goods: those that are necessary for life, those that are needed for the decency of the state and those that are superfluous. He also spoke of three kinds of needs. He indicated that out of the second kind of goods serious and extreme needs must be met, out of superfluous goods, even common needs must be met.

People believe that there are no superfluous goods. However, this belief only comes to light at the hour of having to help the poor. In other circumstances people like to demonstrate their wealth.

There is a danger in accumulating riches. These can lead their possessor to many sins. Then García Mazo tries to answer three objections against giving. One is that of saving, since it may be needed later. This indicates a lack of trust in God. The worse is that people only remember about saving when they are confronted with the need of giving. A second objection to giving is the support of the children and their educational needs, to which García Mazo answers that the poor should be considered as members of the family and He is represented by the poor. The final objection to giving is because of the hard times in which they are living, to which García Mazo answers that the hard times have come as a result of not giving.

His final appeal is based on the coming of the judgment day. At that time what was done or left undone concerning the poor will be more significant than any sinful act or any act of obedience to the will of God. Helping the poor is helping Jesus and He will acknowledge it as though He Himself has been served.⁴⁵

⁴⁵Santiago José García Mazo, "Sermón sobre la Limosna," *Biblioteca de Predicadores*, ed. Vicente Canos, IV (México: Vicente Silva, 1855), 408-419.

Pedro María de Torrecilla. Torrecilla preached two sermons on almsgiving. These were printed just as "First Sermon on Almsgiving" and "Second Sermon on Almsgiving." The Appendix presents an abridgment of the first sermon. The second sermon is very similar to that of García Mazo. Because of this it is not in the Appendix. Torrecilla's third sermon is entitled "Evangelical Solution to the Social Problem of Immoderate Riches and the Growth of Poverty."

The central message of his first sermon could be expressed in two short sentences: 1) the compassion that one person feels for another is worthless unless it is expressed in a tangible way; and 2) God not only offers temporal blessings, but most important, if alms are given, He offers forgiveness of sins.

Jesus Christ is not longer with us. However, He indicated clearly that the poor would be upon the earth always. They are the ones who have inherited His rights.

There are two reasons that dictate that we should help the poor: 1) nature itself, that moves us to compassion in the sight of the needs of others; and 2) religion. This is even a greater reason than the first one. However, Torrecilla indicates that during his lifetime there was indifference toward the poor even among Catholics.

To give alms is presented as both an act of charity and an act of mercy. Through compassion it touches the heart. However, this is not enough unless through an act of relief it touches the hand.

Torrecilla indicates that God demands the alms that He requests for those in need. He quotes 1 John 3:17 and other texts. He advises ministers to speak freely on this subject. He also indicates that both

temporal blessings and the forgiveness of sins are promised to those who give alms (Mt 23:23; Lk 11:42; Dn 4:41). God has commanded us to love our fellow human beings. The obedience to this command should bring about the basic result of giving to them as much as we can. The poor request our gifts, God commands us to give them. To give to the poor is compared to giving to Jesus. Forgiveness does not come because of any intrinsic value in giving, but because the poor themselves ask God for those who have given them and also in order to overcome the slavery of sin that captivates us so much.⁴⁶

To speak about this as a command indicates that the times must have been desperate. To have to use ecclesiastical authority indicates that the situation was very serious.

Torrecilla's second sermon on almsgiving was very similar to the sermon of Santiago José García Mazo considered above. It is a sermon against the excuses that many offer for not giving alms to the poor. Torrecilla defines the superfluous in a similar way to that in which García Mazo defined it. The different classes of needs are defined more or less in the same way. The only difference is that he calls "urgent" the needs that García Mazo called "grave." Both men also indicated that there is no question of the obligation of helping extreme needs out of that which is necessary to the conservation of social rank.⁴⁷

Some of the arguments for not giving are also similar to those of García Mazo's sermon. This is particularly true concerning the one related to the future of the children.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 53-61.

⁴⁷Ibid., I, 61-63.

⁴⁸Ibid., I, 65.

García Mazo Requires more than Torrecilla. García Mazo required the rich to help the poor in their serious needs out of the means that they needed to keep up their estate. He required them to use their all to help the needy in their urgent necessities. Torrecilla would only require that this be done out of the superfluous means.⁴⁹

Interesting Statements in Torrecilla's Sermon not Found in that of García Mazo. Torrecilla reminded his listeners that the poor did not have any authority with which to defend themselves.⁵⁰ One of his most interesting statements concerns the way in which the churches of antiquity sold their decorations and images to help their needy:

The poor of the first centuries were so persuaded of this truth that even when the splendor of divine worship is much more worthy of consideration and more essential than personal exterior ornament, they divested the churches of their ornaments and sold its sacred cups of silver and gold in order to help the poor in times of famine. This was also done to pay for the ransom of captives of war, as we know that it was done by St. Ambrose.⁵¹

Torrecilla also indicates that alms must be given from goods that are lawfully possessed. A woman cannot give that which belongs to her husband except in emergency situations. This is much more the case when speaking of children and even more so when dealing with servants.⁵²

Torrecilla's third sermon on this subject is entitled "Evangelical Solution to the Social Problem of Immoderate Riches and the Growth of Poverty." Such a title brings great expectations. However, it must be borne in mind that this sermon was preached in the Nineteenth Century. Even though Torrecilla's solution does not coincide with that

⁴⁹Ibid., I, 64.

⁵⁰Ibid., I, 62.

⁵¹Ibid., I, 63.

⁵²Ibid., I, 68.

of Liberation Theology in the Twentieth Century, it is important to notice that this problem was being faced and recognized in the preaching of the Nineteenth Century. At a time when even Christian solutions to the problem of poverty include militancy, a solution such as the one that is presented in this sermon has its place.

Torrecilla does not present a solution to this problem. He even indicates that it does not exist. He bases this on Jesus' statement of having the poor always in our midst (Jn 128). Even today, there is poverty everywhere, even in socialist and communist countries.

The greatest need of the poor is the need of dignity. The rich must provide this to the poor, and these must love the rich. The rich must also share their wealth with the poor. Christian action must make them share as much as they can with the poor. However, this must be done within the framework not only of human but also of Christian dignity for the poor, and the acceptance of their response of Christian love. This way the scorn of the poor by the rich and the envy of the rich by the poor will come to an end. Otherwise, the result is hatred.⁵³ This is the only motivation that can be acceptable. It is the only force that can join both segments of society.

This message is very important today when the poor try to acquire what justly belongs to them by the force of arms or social pressure. Even when they receive their sustenance from an impersonal government that has taken it from the rich through taxation, this love and dignity between these two classes is lost. The human worth of the poor must be coupled with the human worth of the rich.

⁵³Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 44-57.

In the first section of his sermon Torrecilla made two statements that could be considered to be prophetic. One was that the atheism of his time dispossessed the poor of the last thing that they had, the love and dignity that Jesus Christ had given them. The other one was that if this dignity was ignored, another war would follow, which would be worse than the one they had witnessed.⁵⁴ In this case he made reference to the French Revolution.

The atheism that he witnessed was small compared to that which has followed since his day. Today's atheism has taken Christian principles in order to provide for the poor materially, but without Christian dignity. At the same time, the revolution between classes has also followed at least in the Russian Revolution and all of the communistically inspired wars throughout the earth. Two world wars have also had their social aspects and motivations. All of these armed conflicts have made the French Revolution appear as child play. Certainly, these two predictions of Torrecilla have been fulfilled in an absolute way.

Torrecilla closes his sermon with an illustration from the life of Isabel, Queen of Hungary. When in power, she served the poor of the village in the hospitals she had established. She called them "my little brothers." She lost her power and only the lowliest place was open to her. It was so lowly that it is unmentionable. While there, she heard the bells of a monastery, and she saw a picture of Bethlehem. Torrecilla indicates that if we are rich, like Isabel, we must provide dignity, love and service to the poor. If we are poor, through faith and the light of Jesus we must accept a happy poverty in Him.⁵⁵ Adding

⁵⁴Ibid., III, 48, 49.

⁵⁵Ibid., III, 56, 57.

to this the obligation of the rich to help the poor, it can be stated that this is the kernel of his sermon.

Albino González Menéndez Reigada. The last two of González' sermons present some practical solutions to social problems. The fifth one presents solutions in an industrial environment, while the sixth one presents solutions in the agricultural milieu.

His solution for the problems within industry indicates that it is not God's will that a few be extremely rich while others are extremely poor. He then attacks the idea of interest, basing himself on the Old and New Testaments, Patristic literature and even pagan Cicero. He introduces a hypothetical situation where a person goes to the confessional and tells the priest that he is charging someone else a high rate of interest. The priest would then ask him to cut it in half. However, if he has his money invested in stocks and has even higher gains society does not frown upon this. He suggests three solutions. The first one is that the state could own industry and lend it to the workers. He includes management with the workers. Then these would earn according to the importance of their jobs. However, this would give even more power to a state that already has too much power. His second solution is that stockholders receive gain only until the machinery is worn out. He considers it unfair that they benefit from their investment indefinitely. His third solution, related to the one presented above, is that factories be cooperatives of production. Salaries would be paid, first of all, the minimum as a basis because of human dignity, then a bonus because of personal merit, and finally another bonus according to the prosperity of the enterprise. This would

eliminate stockholders and continuous benefits without working at all, since God commanded man to work even before the fall. This would also allow the workers to show gratitude to their place of labor.⁵⁶

González considers the problem of farming in Spain in his last sermon. He indicates that little could be done in Spain in relationship to this problem. The North already had small farms that could not be divided. Small farms also existed where there was irrigation. This left only the South with large farms. These could not be subdivided because of lack of rain in the South and the fact that the small farm would not be a successful enterprise. His suggestion then is that the absentee landlord receive only some kind of rent or interest for his land. The landlord that works his own land should deal with it in the same manner in which the manager of a factory as indicated above works his factory. If this does not eliminate poverty, it does fulfill the words of Jesus concerning the existence of poverty until the end of time (Mk 14:7). The objective that González presents is the elimination of hunger and misery.⁵⁷

III. SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to explore what Spanish preachers had to say concerning the different solutions to social problems. This exploration was along the lines of what they had to say about the way men solved these problems and the way that the Church considers should be followed to achieve this end.

⁵⁶González, pp. 175-213.

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 219-250.

Socio-political Solutions. All of the sermons published in Spanish that deal with this aspect of the problem were preached originally in Spanish. One was preached by Pedro María de Torrecilla during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. He invited the rulers of his nation to repentance as they complained because of their suffering and their poverty compared to their previous situation. Their poverty came as a result of their loss of the colonies and the aftermath of having been subjugated by Napoleon. This indicates that colonialism is not an answer to the needs of a dominating power.

Albino González Menéndez-Reigada, Bishop of Córdoba, Spain, presented six lectures in Santander, Spain, in 1948. These lectures were on the general theme of orientation of roads to follow on social issues. The first lecture was one that indicated the failure of the attempts of the Nineteenth Century, when it was considered that man would solve all of his problems through science, education, diplomacy, socialism and pragmatism. González indicates that World War I, and even more so, World War II should have shattered those dreams completely.

The other five sermons were preached after 1950. The first four were preached against Communism. The last one was preached against Communism, Capitalism and Socialism

The first sermon was preached in Mexico by José Ruiz Medrano. In this sermon he invited the Catholic youth to stand up against communism like a modern David against its Goliath. Like David, Christian young people are armed with the Cross and the Rock.

Héctor O. Oglietti preached three sermons against communism that have been published in his collection of sermons. These were

preached on Argentine television. He manifested much knowledge of Russian folklore. In the first one he spoke of six different classes that exist in Russian society. Living conditions are not the same for all. In the second he indicated that Communism is a religious agitation. It has its new icons. In the third one he compares Communism with Christianity in Russia. He indicates that the Church thrives in Russia in spite of its being persecuted by the State.

Jesús María Pellín preached the other sermon in Venezuela. He indicated that Communism, Capitalism and Socialism have all failed in solving the social problems of the world. He calls for a return to Christ. Only under the rulership of the Church will humanity solve its problems. Actually, the Church already failed during the Middle Ages.

Christian Solutions. Seven sermons were published presenting the solutions that the Church offers for the social problems of humanity. Three of these were translated into Spanish from other languages. The other four were preached originally in Spanish.

The first two sermons that were translated were preached by Paolo Segneri in the Seventeenth Century. Both were on almsgiving. The first one indicated that the rich should give willingly and by obligation. The second one indicated that as far as the poor are concerned, they should be aware of the donations being given willingly and with a smiling face, an open hand and the eyes looking into heaven.

The other sermon that was translated into Spanish was preached by Felix Antoine Philibert Dupanlout. This sermon was preached during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. This sermon also presented almsgiving as an obligation of the rich for the poor.

At this time the first Spanish sermon that has been available for this study was also preached. It was preached by Santiago José García Mazo. It tried to organize almsgiving. It indicated that the rich have three kinds of goods: those that are necessary for life, those needed for the decency of the state and those that are superfluous. He also presented three kinds of needs: serious, extreme and common. The first two are to be met out of the second kind of goods. Common needs must be met out of superfluous goods.

García Mazo also answers the three most common objections made against giving. Saving for later in life indicates a lack of trust in God. The support of children is good, but the poor are the children of Christ. Hard times exist because of not giving in the past.

Torrecilla presents two sermons on almsgiving. In the first one he indicates that the poor must be helped because of compassion and because this is the teaching of the Church. The second one is similar to that of García Mazo. The only difference is that García Mazo requires the rich to use their all to help the poor in their extreme need while Torrecilla would expect this only from their superfluous means.

Torrecilla's third sermon is probably the greatest of all the sermons considered in this chapter. He tries to present a solution to the problem of poverty, but he recognizes that it does not exist. Jesus had predicted that the poor would exist forever. However, besides helping them financially, the rich must provide them with dignity. This would help the rich not to scorn the poor and these not to envy the rich. This would help avoid war itself.

It could be stated that García Mazo's and Torrecilla's plan of

almsgiving has been followed with today's plan of providing welfare out of the Income Tax. This had been suggested earlier by Massillon. However, it has been done by the government, and not by the Church, as desired by Pellín. The objective is being partially met, but in an impersonal way. It does not solve the problem of providing dignity to the poor. It has contributed to misunderstandings and even hostilities between the different classes of society. It has even contributed to revolutions and wars as predicted and observed by Torrecilla.

Albino González Menéndez-Reigada presented two interesting solutions in his Fifth and Sixth lectures in 1948. His Fifth lecture presents orientations for a solution in the industrial sphere. He indicates that it is wrong for stocks to earn dividends beyond the lifetime of the original machinery. It is wrong for a person to receive income without working for it. At that stage factories must become co-operatives. They must then belong to the workers with wages being paid taking into account the degree of responsibility of the worker and the prosperity of the enterprise. As far as agriculture is concerned, his suggestions were presented in his Sixth lecture. He indicated that large tracts must not be subdivided where this would make them unprofitable. In this case the land must be worked like a factory, with wages paid to all according to the principles outlined above.

These are interesting solutions. They are based on the fact that God placed His sons upon earth to work it, also on His displeasure with usury. They would go a long way towards solving the lack of commitment of the laborer to his source of labor under the present system.

CHAPTER XIII

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL ACTION

This is one of the most important chapters in this study if not the most important one. Its purpose is to consider what Spanish preachers had to say concerning the basic principles of social action. An effort to organize these statements systematically will be made in the summary of the chapter.

I. STATEMENTS IN SERMONS TRANSLATED INTO SPANISH

As noted above, eight of the sermons translated into Spanish consider this problem. These sermons are considered more briefly than those originally preached in Spanish since they do not necessarily represent Spanish preaching, even though they do indicate the interest of Spanish preachers in these topics.

Paolo Segneri. As early as the Seventeenth Century Segneri was facing this issue. He indicated that greed stands in the way of helping others. Probably the reason for some rich not helping the poor was that they felt that they were giving too much, that the poor were taking too much away from them. However, Segneri indicates that the rich take more from the poor than the poor from the rich.¹ This sounds more like Twentieth Century Liberation Theology than like a sermon from the Seventeenth Century.

¹Pablo Segneri, *El Cristiano Instruido en su Ley, Discursos Morales y Doctrinales*, I (Madrid: Higinio Beneses, 1858), 483-488.

Félix Dupanloup. During the first half of the Nineteenth Century Dupanloup, like Segneri, indicated that greed was one of the characteristics of the rich. In his sermon on "Modern Errors Concerning Riches" he added ambition to greed or covetousness as the culprit. He considered these to be idols that would be destroyed by God just as He destroyed the idols that men worshiped in the past. He indicated that development had progressed in a lateral motion, with man taking advantage of one another to improve their lot. Development should have been from below up.²

He preached another sermon indicating the cure for this problem. The materialistic way of solving it was through work. A Christian should not be afraid to work. He should do this voluntarily. He quoted Seneca, "riches are formed by the suffering of others." He indicated that governments are formed to develop riches.³ The Christian must participate in these materialistic solutions through his cooperation with the government and his labor, which should be voluntary.

His last sermon on this subject presents what he considers to be the Christian solution to the problem of riches. This is charity as the manifestation of love.⁴ However, How much charity? How will it be distributed? Who should give it? These questions were answered in the

²Félix Dupanloup, "Modernos Errores Acerca de la Riqueza," *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores, Sermones Morales*, ed. Pedro María de Torrecilla, III (París: Rosa Bouret y Cía., 1854), 1-12.

³Dupanloup, "Remedio Contra los Errores Modernos Acerca de la Riqueza," *Ibid.*, III, 13-27.

⁴Dupanloup, "La Caridad Cristiana Considerada como Remedio Unico, Poderoso y Eficaz para Destruir el Mal Moral y Social que Aqueja a las Sociedades Modernas," *Ibid.*, III, 77-94.

previous chapter. In the long run, the Catholic Church considers that this should be administered by the Church.

Jean Baptiste Henri Lacordaire. At least two sermons dealing mainly with principles of social action were preached by Lacordaire during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. The first one indicates that Catholic doctrine is the source of Christian charity and the second one is a very interesting interpretation of capital.

In the first of these two sermons Lacordaire tries to apply the accomplishments of Christianity in the First Century to the Nineteenth Century. Among other things he mentions Spartacus' abortive struggle for the freedom of slaves in which those that did not die in the struggle or were executed in the aftermath returned to a nullified life. Slaves had no country, families or rights. Men did not care for one another. They did not even like to work. The Christian principles that helped in the abolition of slavery according to this sermon are that Jesus taught men to love one another and to take the last place. He even taught them that the poor are blessed. Under these circumstances, even slavery lost its significance. However, this sermon goes beyond the problem of slavery. It also brought the willing and free service to others because of the love of mankind.⁵ These principles of love to others, taking the last place and willing and free service to others should not only be meaningful in the eradication of slavery but also in the solution of the problem of poverty. This should come to the same

⁵Jean Baptiste Henri Lacordaire, "Efectos de la Doctrina Católica en la Sociedad," *Biblioteca de Predicadores*, ed. Vicente Canos, I (México, Vicente Silva, 1855), 426-440.

kind of end that was found by slavery, as indicated in another of his sermons.

Slavery lost all of its significance. This was done without a struggle between masters and slaves, without a precipitated and bloody revolution. This happened only as the course of events. It was just like the chains of a prisoner that become old only with the passing of time and their rotation and clinking upon each other, and the jailer does not have to unfasten them when the hour of liberty arrives. In like manner, religion did not have to break the chains of slavery that they should fall. Time had eroded them as well as the rotation and clanking of the doctrine.⁶

The second sermon has its own significance. It was preached to a young audience in college. It was preached in defense of capitalism when Marx was expressing his ideas for the first time.

Lacordaire indicates that Jesus ordered us to make treasures (Mt 6:20). This means capital, since this concept comes from *caput*, which means head, the beginning of life. Capital is the beginning or principle of life. Only the savage does not raise a materialistic, intellectual or moral capital. Lacordaire indicated that the purpose of the education those young people were receiving was to raise them from savagery.

Barbarians try to raise their capital by the use of force. The virtuous try to do the same thing through work. The earth, left alone, produces thorns and thistles. Man must work intelligently to have it produce for his benefit. This comes through the use of capital, that is, of virtue and intelligence, in order to live and benefit humanity. "Production of property through virtue" is another definition of

⁶Lacordaire, "Efectos de la Doctrina Católica sobre el Alma," Ibid., I, 325.

capital. This kind of capital comes into existence only by faith. It is the capital or treasure that will never fail.⁷

Tihamer Toth. During the first part of the present century Toth also preached two sermons on this topic. The first one is entitled "Jesus and the Laborer" and the second one "The Commandment to Love our Neighbors."

In his first sermon Toth indicates that many object to the Christian message stating that it does not know anything of the struggles of every day living. However, Toth considers that Christa came to this earth to regulate all of the practical fields of humanity. He also taught that to achieve eternal life we must honestly fulfill all of the duties of temporal life. He is not against riches or the joy of living. Christ dignified, sanctified and honored work, giving it its rightful place.

Why, then, does the working man see an enemy in Christ? Toth says that the Catechism indicates that the worker deserves his wages (Lk 10:7). However, this is forgotten in practice. As manifested in the low salaries that exist and the obligation of appreciation for these wages required of laborers. Toth is not against Christianity, but against the manifestation of Christianity that interprets Christ's doctrine in favor of capitalism and considers the slightest protest as something out of orders. Both *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) indicate that it is a mistake to consider that Christianity supports the abuses of Capitalism. Toth supports private property,

⁷Lacordaire, "El Capital según el Evangelio," *Sermones Morales*, ed. Torrecilla, III, 112-126.

since it stimulates work. However, he is against the abuses committed in the name of private property. At the same time, he recognizes that the ideal cannot be reached on this earth. Regardless of whatever social organization exists, the earth will never become Paradise.⁸

In the second sermon mentioned above, Toth indicates that humanity today is very far from fulfilling the commandment of love for its neighbors. This is because of the extreme material misery that so many suffer and that goes unheeded by the majority. If we are brothers, then we are responsible for one another. There can be no question that we are called to care for our brothers (Gn 4:9).⁹

II. TEACHINGS IN SPANISH SERMONS

Nine Spanish sermons have as the core of their message the principles of social action. Three of them are by Torrecilla and were preached during the first half of the Nineteenth Century, two were preached by Caso during the first half of the Twentieth Century, three were preached by González in 1948 and the last one by Pamio during the second part of this century.

Pedro María de Torrecilla. Torrecilla's first sermon is entitled "Christianity, Considered to be the most Sublime Personification of Charity." This is a beautiful and elegant sermon, whose message is that Christianity is love in action. This action has been manifested

⁸Tihamer Toth, *Creo en Jesucristo, el Mesías* (Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1941), pp. 155-163.

⁹Tihamer Toth, *Padre Nuestro que Estás en los Cielos*, I (Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1941), 191-196.

in service for others during the nineteen centuries of the existence of Christianity. He begins with sharing in the Apostolic Church (Acts 2: 44, 45), and that, at a time when Communism did not exist. He indicates that soon Christianity will have existed for two thousand years, and it cannot be accused of not having helped others a single day during that period. He also indicates that those Christians that do not live for the service of others are considered to be no better than pagans. Christians must not live for themselves, for in so doing they are no better than the Carthaginians of antiquity. As a Catholic he considers that the organization of the Catholic Church is the body of love and charity. He considers these two to be synonymous.¹⁰

The title of this second sermon is "Christian Charity, Considered to be the Necessary cure for Moral Evil and the Social Evil that Ail Modern Societies." Torrecilla indicates that charity and love are the essence of Christianity, and the only solution to present social problems. They move people to serve others, the rich to help the poor, the great to help the small and those that have to help those that do not have anything.

Charity is so successful that the Atheists of his time had adopted it. These were the successors of Voltaire. The world marvels at this. However, the Church not only has proclaimed it since the time of Christ, but it has lived it in so many faithful ones that have sacrificed themselves for others in His name throughout history.¹¹

Torrecilla's third sermon is on the "Social Benefits Produced

¹⁰Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 98-111.

¹¹Ibid., III, 58-76.

by Christianity." It is more an apology of Christianity than anything else. Torrecilla compares the ancient pagan civilizations with the Christian nations of the Nineteenth Century. He indicates that because of Christianity the situation of the oppressed has changed. He adds that the situation of women and the poor has changed, using the figure of the slave to speak of the condition of women at this time. Later he speaks of the condition of the slaves themselves not being as gloomy among Christians as among other people. These three groups are under consideration in this study. Women in general may not be considered, but widows have been studied.

Torrecilla both praises and criticizes philanthropy in this sermon.¹² Why was philanthropy necessary? Simply because many acts of kindness performed by Christianity have been performed with the purpose of proselytization in mind. Not that this should not be accomplished, but those acts should be performed by Christian kindness, with conversions coming as an additional blessing.

In his praise of Christianity, Torrecilla does not mention the persecution of Christians by other Christians and the existence of religious wars. These are facts of history that cannot be ignored. Christians have oppressed one another. These experiences are also unmentioned in this sermon. However, Could it be expected that he would mention them? Do politicians do this in their speeches?

Antonio Caso. Antonio Caso, like a few others considered in

¹²Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Demostraciones Católicas*, I (París: Rosa Bouret y Cía., 1856), 525-535.

this study, was not a preacher, but an educator.¹³ However, his speeches have religious content and religious principles. Two of them deal in one way or another with the problems that are under consideration in this study. These will be considered below.

Antonio Caso was born in Mexico City where he also died (1885-1946).¹⁴ Besides being an educator, he was also a lawyer.¹⁵ He was best known as a philosopher.¹⁶ He was a member of the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language in Mexico¹⁷ and President of the National University.¹⁸ As such, he helped to form the thinking of the new generation in Mexico that followed the Revolution of 1910.

In 1922 he published a collection of his speeches. Five of the eleven found in this collection have ethical significance. Two of these focus on the problems considered in this study.

The first of these is entitled "The Twilight of Machiavelli." It was delivered at the end of World War I, in the hope that what President Wilson preached for Europe would be practiced with Mexico. After all, some of Mexico's older citizens could still remember the American invasion in which the country lost half of its territory.

¹³"Caso, Antonio," *Monitor Enciclopedia Salvat para Todos*, III (Pamplona, Sp.: Salvat, 1965), 161.

¹⁴"Caso, Antonio," *Enciclopedia de México*, II (México: Instituto de Enciclopedia de México, 1978), 201.

¹⁵"Caso, Antonio," *Enciclopedia Barsa de Consulta Fácil*, IV (Chicago: Enciclopedia Britannica, 1962), 305.

¹⁶"Caso," *Enciclopedia de México*, II, 201.

¹⁷"Caso," *Monitor Enciclopedia Salvat para Todos*, III, 161.

¹⁸"Caso," *Enciclopedia Barsa*, IV, 305.

In his introduction Caso speaks of deceitfulness and the double standard under which it is considered improper for an individual to deceive another person and expedient for a nation to deceive another nation. This has religious and social applications. It also applies to Liberation Theology in the individual and collective levels.

Deceit, that conscience reproves in individual relationships, is not only tolerated, but also stimulated and encouraged in the diplomacy of the relationship between nations. There is one morality for men and another for nations, one law for individuals and another for peoples. Basically, barbarism still governs, sustaining the zoological triumph of the strong nation over the one that is weak. That which is considered to be a crime becomes a virtue and infamy becomes glory if consideration is passed from an individual nation to the universal body of nations.¹⁹

In the light of the objectives of World War I this was a very true statement. Caso considered that German power had always been against the objectives of civilization. However, he indicated that "force does not achieve the objective of establishing that which is right."²⁰

He indicated that Wilson had brought about the funeral of Machiavelism. There would be no more secret treaties between nations according to Wilson's statement to the American Congress. This was the "apocalypse of unmeasured ambition, the desire for power because of power's sake."²¹

It is interesting to notice the Biblical figure used by Caso. "Apocalypse" does not mean "revelation in this context, it means summation.

¹⁹Antonio Caso, *Discursos a la Nación Mexicana* (México:Porrua, 1922), pp. 101, 102.

²⁰Ibid., p. 102.

²¹Ibid., p. 103.

However, Caso hoped that Wilson would live with Mexico the same way in which he tried to live with Germany. ¿To be just in behalf of humanity with Germany is great. To be just with Mexico is to be immortal."²²

His conclusion is to the point. In abbreviated form its translation is as follows:

It is necessary that action corroborate the commandment; that principle be saturated with reality; for he who has good thoughts and bad actions has always been more condemned than he who had bad thoughts and acts accordingly. The moralist has spoken. May his actions guarantee his thoughts. ...

The defeat of the diplomatic lie has begun. Wilson has seen clearly that the sophism is the root of crime and war the monstrous flowering of perfidy. If we condemn the reputation of lies, why must we exalt them as political weapons?

"Un buono e sabio Principe deve amare la pace e fuggire la guerra," was said by the subtle Florentine. However, deceit is not the way to eradicate war, but precisely the opposite.

May civilized humanity continue in its gigantic development till it reaches the triumph of justice. ... May peoples and men live in a glass house "to the great day" as Augustus Comte taught in his energetic French aphorism.

Only then will history indicate the twilight of Machiavelli.²³

Coming from a man that contributed in the formation of the ideals of a nation that boasts of its irreligiousness, this is an outstanding speech. Truth must displace lies on a national and personal level. Force should not be the means of the acquisition of goods at either of those levels. It is interesting that the application of personal ethics to international situations has also been used by Liberation Theology.

²²Ibid., p. 104.

²³Ibid., pp. 104, 105.

Caso's second speech has even more similarities with a sermon than his first speech. Because of this it appears in abbreviated form in the appendix of this study. In this speech he teaches that the creation of mankind has not come to an end. Without this coming to pass, humanity cannot dream of Nietzsche's superman.

In this speech Caso expresses his opposition to both determinism and rigid laws. It is necessary to have laws, but these must not be in the way of man's self improvement. This can be accomplished only through the effort of the human race. Since this is so, mankind should not be commanded to do this or that. The proper methods to teach principles of morality are example and persuasion.²⁴

Caso generally looked upon life in a positive way. He expressed confidence in its own improvement. Expressing that the creation of man was not finished, he expressed confidence in the improvement of humanity. He lived to see the beginning and the end of World War II. This must have been a shock to his philosophy.

Albino González Menéndez-Reigada. Three of his lectures present his principles of social action. These go from the least to the most significant statements. These are the Second, Third and Fourth lectures on orientations for social action.

As considered above, his first lecture presented the failure of Nineteenth Century philosophy to bring a solution to social problems. This included the failure of education, science, and other efforts to solve the problems. He continues this in his Second lecture. Here he

²⁴Ibid., pp. 231-248.

indicates that the idols or myths that man has made for himself have fallen, except for communism, which is beginning to decline (1948). The two things that he considers necessary to bring about the desired change is to find a law that can apply to all humanity and to make anew the inhabitants of the globe. He indicates that it is necessary to recognize Christ as the ideal divine-human being.²⁵

His Third lecture continues attacking Nineteenth Century philosophy, indicating that it had as its aim a morality without dogma or sanction. The base of human society must be the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount. Besides the Decalogue, he indicates that humanity must not limit itself to a series of prohibitions, but must do good in a positive way. The common good is more than the sum of the good of each individual. It is that which serves all. Society must base itself on the Moral-natural law.²⁶

His Fourth lecture indicates that "justice" means giving every person his own. This includes the relationship between individuals, between one person and society and between society and the individual. As far as the first relationship is concerned, he indicates that the principle that governs it is the Golden Rule. Concerning the second relationship, he indicates that we have only that which we have received. Society has the right to ask us for all that we have, including life itself. Actually, whatever is given to society by the individual is less than that which the individual receives from society. In

²⁵Albino González Menéndez-Reigada, *Directrices Cristianas de Ordenación Social* (Madrid: Seminario de Problemas Hispanoamericanos, 1949), pp. 49-85.

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 89-129.

the third relationship he indicates that society must see to it that the riches that have been acquired be distributed more equitable. Humanity must not only recognize its rights, but also realize that every right entails an obligation. The principle involved is that the rich must recognize that they have their goods as their own administratively, but these are common as far as their distribution is concerned.²⁷

This lecture prepares the way for the last two lectures considered above. These are that industrially, factories must belong to those that work them, if not since the beginning, at least after twenty years, or the time for the replacement of the original machinery. Large tracts of land may be owned privately, as long as the owner works them and distributes the fruits of his labor among his workers.

Virgilio Pamio. One of Pamio's sermons faces faces the problem of principles of social action that are being considered in this chapter. This is the sermon that he prepared for the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost. This sermon is based on the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:23-37). It presents very clearly the social implications of this parable for the present day.

Using this parable Pamio stresses the need of Christians to show their love for God serving the needy that surround them. He allegorizes the parable, making the poor and the laborers to represent the man that was slain on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. The levite and the priest that did not care for the wounded person represent the clergy of our day. This includes the Catholic clergy. Pamio indicates

²⁷Ibid., pp. 133-171.

that a Protestant that helps the poor, like the Good Samaritan, is better than a Catholic who does not help them. He also speaks of Communism in relation to this parable. Communism also passed by the side of the poor and the laborer. Communist leaders promised to help him materially, but not spiritually. In the long run, this was worse than no help at all. The Catholic Church as a whole has been the Inn Keeper, entrusted by the Lord to care for humanity in the interim before His return. By and large it has done a good work in societies like that of St. Vincent de Paul. However, even though he mentioned the possibility that a Protestant may perform an act of kindness and a Catholic may not do it, he still fails to recognize that Protestantism also has had organized relief agencies in the service of the poor.²⁸

III. SUMMARY

Seventeen sermons have been considered in this chapter. These face the problem of the principles of social action. Eight of them were translated from other languages, the other nine were preached originally in Spanish. These have been considered in this chapter in these two groups and in chronological order. Their teachings will be considered below under the following headings: 1) hindrances to solutions; 2) materialistic solutions and 3) Christian solutions.

Hindrances to Solutions to Social Problems. It is much easier to present a diagnosis than to provide a cure. However, the diagnosis

²⁸Virgilio Pamio, *El Plan de la Salvación en la Meditación de los Evangelios Dominicales* (Buenos Aires: Guadalupe, 1968), pp. 389-397.

is needed in order to search for the cure. The problems that do not permit a cure to the problem of poverty are the following:

1. Greed. This is indicated both by Segneri and Dupanloup. One of the problems is that the rich consider that the poor take too much from them, when the contrary is the truth. Toth indicates that the rich do not even believe the Bible, considering the low salaries that they pay and the statement of Jesus that the worker is worthy of his pay (Lk 10:7). Even though he favors private property, he does not agree with the abuses committed in the name of private property.

2. Ambition. This is very close to greed. Dupanloup compares it to the idols of antiquity to be destroyed by God. Caso sees it in the international level. He considers that Wilson's bringing secret treaties to an end would bring the death of unlimited ambition. This kind of ambition is also wrong on a personal level.

3. Deceit. Caso indicates that this has been practiced between nations as something honorable. He opposes the double standard of considering some things acceptable in international relations that are not acceptable in interpersonal relations.

4. Materialism. Some aspects of materialism are found in this column, and others on the positive side. Toth indicates that this is so common that we do not think about others. Materialism does not even permit the Christian to fulfill the commandment of loving others.

5. Might makes right. This is a principle that is practiced in the acquisition of riches. Dupanloup spoke of people becoming rich and powerful through horizontal efforts. This was wrong. Caso indicated that this principle is considered acceptable in international

relations. In reality, it is not correct in any kind of relationship.

6. Misinterpretation of Christian doctrine. Toth indicates that to a great degree Christian doctrine has been interpreted in favor of the Capitalist. It has also been considered as something out of order to protest against wrongdoing in high places. These related activities are a hindrance to a solution to these problems.

7. The bad example of most Christians. Many Christians do not live to serve others. Torrecilla indicates that these are worse than pagans.

Materialistic Solutions. Many of the solutions to this problem presented by the world are not necessarily evil. This is indicated in several of the sermons that have been considered in this chapter.

1. Work. Hard work does not hurt anyone. Several preachers indicate that it is a good solution to the problems of poverty. Dupanloup is one of them. Lacordaire adds that capital must be produced by labor. Only the savage produced it by force. Even Toth favors work. Dupanloup considers it the horizontal plain on which riches must grow.

2. Government. Dupanloup indicates that governments have been formed in order to develop the riches of the country. A Christian should cooperate fully with its efforts to improve the lot of all.

3. Philanthropy. Torrecilla indicates that even the successors of Voltaire encouraged charity in the form of philanthropy. This means that the teachings of Christianity have been adopted by atheists.

Christian Solutions. This is the most important section of these sermons. Actually, there is only one Christian solution in these

sermons, and this is love. The world should see love practiced in the lives of Christians and it should accept this as a way of life through the power of persuasion and not through the power of force.

Two words are used when speaking of this Christian virtue. They are love and charity. Torecilla considers them to be synonymous while Dupanloup considers charity to be the manifestation of love. Christianity is presented as love in action.

How will this love be manifested? Lacordaire indicates that it will be manifested in voluntary and free service for others. Torrecilla indicates that this has been seen in the history of the Church. Another manifestation of this experience according to Toth is in caring for others.

A specific example of this love according to Lacordaire has been the abolition of slavery. When Christ taught that we should love one another, take the last place and that the poor are blessed, He dealt the death blow to slavery. Eventually, because of this, it disappeared by itself. This is something that Spartacus had not been able to do by force. We should not even use the power of law.

González does not emphasize love as much as the others, but he also mentions it. He emphasizes more the objective of perfection. However, this objective stems from a law based on love.

Finally, Pamio illustrated all of this with the parable of the Good Samaritan. In modern language, many times even religion has passed by the poor, without doing anything in their behalf. Communism has offered a materialistic solution, which is worse than no solution at all. The Church must provide both a materialistic and a spiritual

solution. Above everything else, a spiritual solution. By and large it has fulfilled its mission. He also indicates that a Protestant that helps the poor is far better than a Catholic that does nothing. However, his examples of historical relief to the needs of the world come exclusively from the Catholic camp. This parable brings out once more the importance of doing for others all that is within our power and persuading others to do likewise, not by force, not because of law, not because of government, but because of love.

CHAPTER XIV

EXTRA-BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

All of the preachers considered in this study are Catholic preachers. The Council of Trent (1545-1547, 1562, 1563) decided that all question of doctrine would be decided by tradition the consensus of the Church and Scripture. In practice this would mean the statements of the Church Fathers, the Official statements of the popes and the Bible. As seen in the next chapter, in actual practice the Bible still held a very special place for these preachers. This chapter will consider quotations and illustrations that are not found in the Bible.

These two chapters are based mainly on the twenty-six sermons that are presented in an abbreviated form in the appendix of this study. However, a few of the other sermons that were preached in Spanish by these preachers may be alluded to briefly.

I. QUOTATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS FROM SECULAR SOURCES

Eight of these eleven preachers used quotations and illustrations that come from secular sources. The three that did not use them are Antón de Montesinos, Santiago José García Mazo and José de Jesús Cuevas. The abbreviation of Montesino's sermon is so short that de las Casas could have eliminated all illustrations and quotations in his abridgment. Cuevas' sermon is a beautiful short mosaic of Biblical pictures. Other illustrations would deter, rather than strengthen it. García Mazo's elimination of quotations and illustrations is hard to explain.

Earliest Quotations and Illustrations. The earliest one comes from the time of the Pharaohs in Egypt. It was used by Oglietti in his sermon on hunger.¹ He indicates the existence of hunger from time immemorial.

Classical Greek Sources. Both ancient Greek history and Classical philosophers were used in these sermons. It is interesting to notice that out of nine quotations from them in these sermons six were made by Mexican speakers. Three of these were by Caso,² which is to be expected, three by Ruiz Medrano.³ One of the others was from Hesiod, and was made by Oglietti,⁴ which also could be expected. The last two include one from Socrates⁵ and one from Aristotle⁶ made by González. Xenophon and Plato were quoted once each, both times by Ruiz Medrano.⁷ Plato was called "the divine."⁸ However, this was done in the Classical Greek sense and not in the literal sense. This statement was not made in such a way as to consider Plato another prophet or Moses, but

¹Héctor, Oglietti, *El Evangelio Sobre los Tejados* (Buenos Aires: Producciones Argentinas de Televisión, 1966), p. 249.

²Antonio Caso, *Discursos a la Nación Mexicana* (México: Porrúa, 1922), pp. 232, 241, 247.

³José Ruiz Medrano, *Una Voz de México* (México: Jus, 1962), pp. 109, 110.

⁴Oglietti, p. 250.

⁵Albino González Menéndez-Reigada, *Directrices Cristianas de Ordenación Social* (Madrid: Seminario de Problemas Hispanoamericanos, 1949), p. 100.

⁶Ibid., pp. 157, 158.

⁷Ruiz, pp. 109, 110.

⁸Ibid., p. 109.

simply because this epithet was given him by other authors. This is very important, since Ruiz Medrano was an important ecclesiastical figure. Socrates was quoted by González.⁹ Aristotle was the only Classical Greek writer quoted three times: once by Ruiz Medrano,¹⁰ once by Caso¹¹ and the third time by González Menéndez-Reigada.¹²

Roman History. Roman history and philosophy were not used too often by these preachers. There was only one passing reference to Augustus by Ruiz Medrano¹³ and another to Britannicus Nero by Torrecilla.¹⁴

Christian Romans. Four Roman Christians other than the Church Fathers were mentioned by these Spanish preachers. They cover a relatively short span of history. Constantine, the first Christian Emperor is credited with having erased the right of life and death over slaves. This was indicated by Torrecilla.¹⁵ Herbes, Cromatius and St. Melania were mentioned by Ruiz Medrano because they freed their slaves. They must have been very wealthy, since they had many slaves.¹⁶

Middle Ages. Caso indicated that St. Francis of Assisi was much closer to present an imitation of Christ than Kempis. He also indicated that his example was more meaningful than the book of Kempis.¹⁷

⁹Ibid. ¹⁰Ruiz, pp. 109, 110. ¹¹Caso, p. 232.

¹²González, pp. 157, 158. ¹³Ruiz, p. 110.

¹⁴Pedro María de Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Sermones Morales*, III (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1854), 72, 73.

¹⁵Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Demostraciones Católicas*, I (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1856), 531.

¹⁶Ruiz, p. 112.

¹⁷Caso, p. 243.

one of Caso's speeches not included in this study also had a quotation from Machiavelli.¹⁸ This should be included as taking place in the Renaissance. However, this period is not being considered separately because it is the only quotation that properly belongs to the spirit of the Renaissance, even though some others belong to this period chronologically. These belong rather to the conquest of the American Continent. That which is credited by Ruiz Medrano to the Renaissance is the revival of slavery because it is a revival of paganism.¹⁹ In this case it was a revival of slavery by race. It did not follow the same pattern of slavery in the Ancient World.

Probably the most interesting experience from this period that was referred to in these sermons was that of Isabel, queen of Hungary. Both Torrecilla²⁰ and Ricaurte²¹ presented her experience as an example for others to follow.

Spanish Speaking People. As is to be expected, most illustrations and quotations in these Spanish sermons came from Spanish writers. This is in contrast with today's sermons, when most of the quotations and illustrations in Spanish Protestant sermons come from other cultures.

González Menéndez-Reigada makes reference to at least thirty secular modern thinkers. Most of the time he only mentions them by

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 104, 105.

¹⁹Ruiz, pp. 113-116.

²⁰Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 56, 57.

²¹José Eusebio Ricaurte, "Sermón para la Ceremonia de Apertura de los Trabajos de Construcción de la Capilla para un Hospital para los Pobres," *Los Jovenes Oradores Sagrados* (Bogotá: Minerva, 1936), p. 187.

name, with reference to one of their well known characteristics. Among Spanish thinkers, this is the case with Donoso Cortés.²² On the other hand, even though he does not quote Miguel de Unamuno, he does consider that Unamuno plagiarized Renan when he stated that societies live depending on others, especially in moral concepts.²³

Ruiz Medrano used many Mexican sources in his sermon on the freedom of the slaves in Mexico. This included both colonial and independent Mexico. He spoke both of those that oppressed the Indians, such as Nuño de Guzmán and Salazar y Delgadillo.²⁴ and of those that defended them and struggled for their liberty, such as Bartolomé de las Casas, Julián Garcés, Juan de Zumárraga, Francisco de Vitoria, Fuenleal, Vasco de Quiroga, Antonio de Mendoza and Luis de Velasco. Not all of these were clergymen. The last two were Viceroys.²⁵ Not all of them lived in Mexico. Francisco de Vitoria was a juridical clergyman in Spain who had much to do even with the formation of modern laws, including those which make a person to be a citizen of the country in which he is born and not of the country of his parents. He questioned both the civil and the religious rights of Indians under Spain. He considered them to be the lawful owners of the land. The Spaniards only had rights of the land in which they had advanced the Indian's lot, but not in advancing their own estate.²⁶

²²González, p. 68.

²³Ibid., pp. 108, 109.

²⁴Ruiz, p. 116.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 116, 117.

²⁶"Vitoria, Francisco de," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, XIV (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 727, 728.

Jesús María Pellín brought to remembrance many outstanding Venezuelans of the Nineteenth Century in his sermon commemorating the Centennial of the Orphanage of Caracas.²⁷ At least two of them gained national recognition in politics. These were Eduardo Calcaño²⁸ and Luis Felipe Estéves.²⁹ Agustín Aveledo, mentioned by Pellín as the major force behind the Orphanage was also recognized as an educator and a lawyer.³⁰

Pedro Claver was an interesting personality that can be compared to Isabel, Queen of Hungary. Many question the interest of Spanish Friars in the lot of the Indians and their lack of interest in that of the Blacks. However, Pedro Claver was for the Blacks what Bartolomé de las Casas was for the Indians. Like Isabel of Hungary, his deeds appear in a sermon of Torrecilla³¹ as well as in Ricaurte's sermon.³² He was born in Spain in 1580 and died in Cartagena, Colombia, in 1654. It is considered that he had converted 300,000 Black slaves to Christianity in Colombia by 1615. His method was to help them, and then to present them the gospel. Together with Alonso de Sandoval he was opposed to Black slavery. He served the people as a preacher, a teacher

²⁷Jesús María Pellín, *Testimonio* (Caracas: Revista Lor, 1970), pp. 3-15.

²⁸"Calcaño, Eduardo," *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, IV (Barcelona: Montaner & Simón, 1941), 178.

²⁹"Estéves, Luis Felipe," *Ibid.*, VIII, 1010.

³⁰"Aveledo, Agustín," *Ibid.*, II, 1026.

³¹Torrecilla, *Demostraciones Católicas*, I, 532.

³²*Los Jovenes Oradores Sagrados*, p. 187.

and a physician. His service was so effective that in 1639 Pope Urban VIII proclaimed a bull against slavery. In later life Claver was paralyzed and even mistreated by a slave. Leo XIII canonized him in 1888.³³ Torrecilla presents him as apostle and father of the Blacks.³⁴

The fathers and protectors of the Indians are better known. Torrecilla mentions Bartolomé de las Casas, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza and Luis de Valdivia in this category.³⁵ The first two served in Mexico. The work of de las Casas is very well known. Palafox was the Bishop of Puebla in 1610. His work for the Indians is not as well known as that of de las Casas because he was an intellectual. He distinguished himself as an educator. He was Royal representative on the board of the University of Mexico. As such he wrote the Constitution of the University that excluded religious leaders from the Rectorship of that institution.³⁶ Because of this, his work for the Indians is not as well known as that of de las Casas. Torrecilla's mentioning Valdivia also recognizes this man's work. It also indicates Torrecilla's knowledge of the history of the American Spanish colonies. Valdivia was born in Spain in 1561 and went to Perú in 1589. Like Palafox, he also died in Spain after serving here. This happened in 1642. He was considered to be the Defender of the Araucan Indians, who fought fiercely in Chile against the Spaniards. Valdivia's pacifist thesis called for the abolition of personal service by the Indians and for a reduction in the

³³"Claver, Pedro," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, III,

³⁴Torrecilla, *Demostraciones Católicas*, I, 531. ³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶"Palafox y Mendoza, Juan de," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, X, 872.

classification of the Araucan war to a War of Defense. He failed in his efforts on both sides.³⁷ Spaniards thus fought for a fair treatment of the Indians in all of the continent. They mentioned this in their preaching.

It should also be indicated that Spanish preachers did not limit themselves to colonial situations. Those of the Nineteenth Century would do this more than later preachers. However, Caso also quoted Espronceda in one of his speeches.³⁸ Espronceda was a Spanish romantic poet of the first part of the Nineteenth Century. He had a very short life span (1808-1842).³⁹ Even though he was a controversial figure in his time and died very young, he had a great influence in Spanish literature and philosophy.

French Writers and Historical Events. It may seem surprising to consider that French writers and events took a second place in Spanish sermons only to Spanish thinkers and events. However, this is true in any truly Spanish milieu. French has a much greater influence on Spanish thinking than English or North American thinking.

Torrecilla several times mentioned Voltaire or his followers. He indicated that even they followed at times principles that had been taught by the Church throughout the ages.⁴⁰ He also mentioned the

³⁷"Valdivia, Luis de," Ibid., XIV, 514.

³⁸Caso, p. 296.

³⁹"Espronceda, José de," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, XXII (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1908, 1958), 363-368.

⁴⁰Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 58-70.

works of Montesquieu and Rousseau, both of whom lived during the Eighteenth Century.⁴¹

González Menéndez-Reigada made reference to not less than twelve French writers. He considered himself to be in conflict with J. Maritain's idea of a "New Christianity" within Catholicism that would change the human element within the Church to bring about a new social order.⁴² Maritain indicates that civilization cannot be cured. Something completely new must come into existence.⁴³

On the other hand, he indicates that Alexis Carrel speaks of man losing himself.⁴⁴ González mentions quite frequently Carrel's thinking.

Another French thinker mentioned quite prominently by González is Ernest Renan, who wrote a life of Christ in the Nineteenth Century. González considers it quite ironic that Psichari, Renan's grandson, hesitated when an Arab asked him what he thought of Jesus while he was fulfilling military duties in the desert. After some thought he was able to give a satisfactory reply.⁴⁵ As was the case with Torrecilla, González indicates that "there still is in the environment not just a little Christian influence, even in the classes that are further removed from religious practices."⁴⁶

Ruiz Medrano spoke both of Napoleon and the French Revolution in his sermon on the freeing of the slaves in Mexico. He also found a

⁴¹Torrecilla, *Demostraciones Católicas*, I, 531-535.

⁴²González, pp. 37-42. ⁴³Ibid. ⁴⁴Ibid., p. 42.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 49-52. ⁴⁶Ibid., p. 109.

Christian basis for the ideal of that revolution.⁴⁷

Caso made reference to Comte in his speech on "The Twilight of Machiavelli."⁴⁸ Pamio quoted from Lebreton⁴⁹ and Pellín extolled the work of St. Vincent de Paul in the Seventeenth Century.⁵⁰ He also quoted from Gibier.⁵¹ All of this means that not less than ten different quotations came from French sources and were used in not less than twelve occasions by these Spanish preachers. Besides this, there were another eleven writers alluded to by González in another two occasions.

Other Languages. Caso presented not fewer than four references to German thinkers. They include Kant,⁵² Leibnitz⁵³ and two references to Nietzsche.⁵⁴ This could be expected from a philosophical speaker. He also made one reference to President Wilson.⁵⁵

González Menéndez-Reigada also made reference to Wilson.⁵⁶ Another American he mentioned was O. S. Marden.⁵⁷ He also mentioned Spengler, who was British.⁵⁸ He also mentioned six Germans,⁵⁹ three Italian⁶⁰ and one Swedish-German thinker.⁶¹ However, with the exception of Kant, he did not mention any of them extensively or quote from their writings.

⁴⁷Ruiz, p. 111.

⁴⁸Caso, p. 105.

⁴⁹Virgilio Pamio, *El Plan de la Salvación en la Meditación de los Evangelios Dominicales* (Buenos Aires: Guadalupe, 1968), p. 340.

⁵⁰Pellín, p. 234. ⁵¹Ibid., p. 237. ⁵²Caso, p. 240.

⁵³Ibid., p. 244. ⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 241, 243. ⁵⁵Ibid., p. 103.

⁵⁶González, p. 28. ⁵⁷Ibid., p. 24. ⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 29, 33.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 33, 35, 55-58, 71-77. ⁶⁰Ibid., p. 29.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 25.

All of this means that only Caso actually quoted from Anglo-Teutonic sources. As indicated above, he did this only four times.

II. PATRISTIC SOURCES

The Council of Trent accepted the traditions originated with Christ and the apostles and preserved by the Church as equally valuable for the determination of dogma as Scriptures.⁶² Because of this, one of the most respected sources of information within the Church are the writings of the Church Fathers. It would be expected that these preachers would have quoted extensively from the Fathers. It would be expected that all of them would have quoted from the Fathers. However, as noted in Table 9, based on the sermons in the Appendix of this study, only four of them quoted from the Fathers, and the number of those quoted is relatively small.

Table 9

Church Fathers Quoted or Referred to in Spanish Sermons on Social Issues

Preacher		Gregory Basil Tertullian	of Nyssa	Chrysostom Ambrose	Augustine Jerome	Gregory the Great	Total
García Mazo		1		1		2	4
Torrecilla	1	2		1	2	3	12
González				1	1	3	5
Ruiz Medrano			1				1
Total	1	3	1	2	4	8	22

⁶²Bengt Hägglund, *History of Theology* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968), p. 286.

Both García Mazo and Torrecilla were preachers of the first half of the Nineteenth Century. 'González' sermons were from the last years of the first half of this century and Ruiz Medrano preached during the second half of this century. Even though this study limits itself to sermons on social issues, it is interesting to notice that during this century reference was made to the Church Fathers much less than during the last century in these sermons.

East vs. West. Both preachers and Church Fathers have been placed in chronological order in Table 9. It should be noted that Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Chrysostom are Eastern Fathers, revered in the Greek Orthodox Church. This means that eight of the twenty-two quotations or references come from persons that are not as well accepted as the others. Tertullian is not well accepted either, bringing the total to nine. Since these preachers are Spanish, they identify themselves definitely with the West and not with the East. The use of these nine quotations is very significant.

Sermons in which These Quotations Appear. The findings of this chapter are based on the twenty-six sermons presented in the Appendix of this study. Since García Mazo and Ruiz Medrano have only one sermon, all of their references to the Fathers are from this sermon. Torrecilla's twelve quotations are found in only two of his six sermons. His first sermon on Almsgiving has more than the others, five. This sermon also has at least twenty-nine quotations or allusions to the Bible.⁶³

⁶³Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Conferencias Catequistas*, I (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía, 1857), 53-61.

His sermon to the Legislative Congress has five references to the Fathers and at least twenty-three to the Bible.⁶⁴ Torrecilla's other reference to the Fathers is found in his Second Sermon on Almsgiving.⁶⁵ All of this indicates that Torrecilla did not quote from the Fathers in all of his sermons. Even when he did quote from them, their writings did not have greater importance than the Bible. González quotes from the Fathers in three of his six lectures on social issues.⁶⁶ However, he quotes from the Bible in all of them. As with Torrecilla, this also indicates the relative importance in his preaching between the Bible and the Fathers.

All of this also means that only seven of the twenty-six sermons have quotations from the Fathers or make reference to them. This indicates that while their statements were considered useful and meaningful, in spite of the decisions of the Council of Trent, they were not used in such a way as to make them appear as significant as the statements of the Bible. This is true comparing the number of times in which they are used with the number of times in which the Bible is used.

Authoritativeness of these Statements. The four times that the statements from the Fathers are introduced by García Mazo do not indicate that he regarded them as very authoritative. The last three are introduced with "cries out Saint John Chrysostom," "Saint Augustine indicates" and "as stated by Saint Augustine."⁶⁷ The first one comes the

⁶⁴Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Ceremonias Sagradas*, I (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1856), 278-299.

⁶⁵Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 63.

⁶⁶González, pp. 27, 100, 182. ⁶⁷García, pp. 410, 413, 415.

closest to indicate a source of authority. It says, "I ask with Saint Basil."⁶⁸ However, this only represents an agreement and not a source of authority.

The six statements found in the First Sermon on Almsgiving of Torrecilla indicate different degrees of acceptance as normative. One from Saint Augustine is only a historical reference of a statement he made to the rich of his day.⁶⁹ Two from Saint Basil represent only a question or a statement. They are introduced by "St. Basil asks, ... and "St. Basil indicates ..."⁷⁰ The other three are more meaningful. One is from Saint Gregory the Great. Torrecilla states that "St. Gregory the Great declares that in vain those appropriate for themselves only the goods that God has made common to all, for in not sharing with the poor from the abundance of their bounty they become homicides."⁷¹ These are strong words. They also indicate that Torrecilla accepts them as authoritative. However, Gregory the Great was not only a Church Father. He was also a Pope. He was the last Church Father and the first Pope in the Medieval sense. Another statement that Torrecilla seems to accept as authoritative is one in which Saint Augustine defines virtue.⁷² However, the most significant statement from a Church Father in this sermon comes from Chrysostom. Torrecilla seems to consider him to be authoritative, while he considers this authority to come from the Scriptures. "St. John Chrysostom indicates that it is surprising to see the words used by Scripture ..."⁷³

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 410. ⁶⁹Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 60.

⁷⁰Ibid., I, 57.

⁷¹Ibid., I, 58.

⁷²Ibid., I, 59.

⁷³Ibid.

Torrecilla's sermon for the opening of Congress at a time of public misfortunes has five quotations or references to the Fathers. Two are to Jerome, the others to Augustine, Chrysostom and Tertulian. One from Jerome and one from Augustine are simple statements of fact.⁷⁴ The other one from Jerome seems to indicate an acceptance of some authority from him. It is introduced by "... according to St. Jerome," and after the quotation he says "thus we have no reason ..."⁷⁵ Thus, he accepts Jerome as authority, but he seems to do the same with Tertullian, who is not accepted by the Church as an authority. The acceptance of Tertullian in that role is indicated by his introduction of his statement with "... as Tertullian says." This statement follows a general statement from the Scriptures.⁷⁶ As with the previous sermon, it is interesting to notice that Chrysostom cannot be referred to without making reference to the Bible. Torrecilla quotes him after making reference to Isaiah 62.⁷⁷ Once more, this makes the Biblical statement to be more authoritative than the patristic statement.

Torrecilla makes his reference to Ambrose in his Second Sermon on Almsgiving. He does not present Ambrose as an authority, but makes historical reference to the selling of the sacred ornaments of the church led by Ambrose to provide for the poor at a time of hunger.⁷⁸

González' quotation from Augustine in his third lecture has no normative power since it follows a factual statement from Socrates that

⁷⁴Torrecilla, *Ceremonías Sagradas*, I, 295, 290.

⁷⁵Ibid., I, 279. ⁷⁶Ibid., I, 280. ⁷⁷Ibid., I, 281.

⁷⁸Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 63.

is not authoritative.⁷⁹ The one in his first lecture follows a Biblical statement, but no meaningful connection is made between the two, except to indicate that both speak of an inner void. No indication of a normative function is made before these quotations.⁸⁰ The one in his fifth lecture follows his quotation from Ambrose. Both are introduced with the statement "the Holy Fathers have very strong words against usury."⁸¹ As with the other preachers, Chrysostom's name cannot be mentioned without connecting it to a Biblical text. González introduces it "St. Chrysostom, commenting a text from Deut. (C. XXIII, ...)"⁸² This does not make his statement to have an equal authority with the Scriptures, but to have the relationship of a comment based on the Bible. The relationship between the two is also important, for it indicates the derivation of one from the other. Only a similarity is indicated in the case of Augustine presented above.

José Ruiz Medrano quotes Gregory of Nyssa in his sermon commemorating the One-hundred fiftieth Anniversary of the first declaration of freedom of slaves in Mexico. He only indicates that "the liberation of slaves was a doctrine of the Church Councils and of the Church Fathers" following this statement with Gregory's quotation.⁸³ This is only a statement of fact. It should also be indicated that Gregory was an Eastern Church Father, more acceptable to the Greek Orthodox than to the Catholic Church.

All of this indicates that the Church Fathers were not blindly accepted as authorities in these sermons. They were not quoted in all

⁷⁹González, p. 100.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 27.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 182.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ruiz, pp. 112, 113.

of the sermons. They were quoted much less than the Scriptures in the sermons in which they were used. Most of the time they were quoted or referred to only as historical fact and not as an authority. Even Tertullian was quoted in the same manner as the others. The only one used more authoritatively was Gregory the Great who besides being a Church Father was also a Pope.

III. THOMAS AQUINAS

Albino González Menéndez-Reigada was the only preacher in this group to quote from Thomas Aquinas. Actually, he alludes to Aquinas five times and quotes from him three times. There is no question of his admiration of Aquinas. He quotes or alludes to him more than to any of the Church Fathers or Papal Encyclicals. He calls his philosophy perennial, true and constructive.⁸⁴ He considers Aquinas to be the one who "went ahead, who succeeded the most, above all, who climbed the high peaks of human knowledge."⁸⁵ His quotations from Aquinas are well scattered in his lectures. They are in his second,⁸⁶ third⁸⁷ and sixth lectures.⁸⁸ This last one is the most significant. It is the only one in which he gives his source.⁸⁹ It is also extremely significant in relationship to social issues. "Concerning use man must not consider external things to be his own, but common, in such a way that

⁸⁴González, p. 67. ⁸⁵Ibid., p. 69. ⁸⁶Ibid., p. 80.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 123. ⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 247, 248.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 248; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIa, II, 56, 2.

he may easily communicate to those in need."⁹⁰ However, just before this González had indicated that private property is something convenient according to Aquinas.⁹¹ Actually, the statement quoted above favors almsgiving, which is not acceptable as a solution to Liberation Theologians. It must also be considered that in none of these cases are his writings considered to be inspired.

IV. BULLS, ENCYCLICALS AND OTHER PAPAL PRONOUNCEMENTS

The use of the Pope's authority and that of his pronouncements is indicated in Table 10. It includes the times in which the Popes are referred to only by name as well as the Encyclicals for which they are responsible. It does not include reference to a council of the Church, since most of the time this overlaps the reigns of several popes.

Table 10

Reference to Popes, Bulls and Encyclicals
in Spanish Sermons on Social Issues

Preacher	Gregory the Great	Inocense II	Inocense II	Pius II	Leo X	Benedict Paul III	Benedict XIV	Pius Leo XIII	Pius XI	Pius XII	Paul John XXIII	Paul VI	Total
Torrecilla	1												1
González			1					2	7	2			12
Ruiz Medrano		1		1	1	1	1	1					6
Oglietti									1		2		3
Pamio								1			2	2	5
Pellín										1			1
Total	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	8	3	4	2	28

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 247, 248

⁹¹Ibid., p. 247.

This total includes twelve Encyclicals. One Spanish and two Argentinian preachers made reference to these twelve Encyclicals. This means that sixteen times reference is made to the Popes independently from these documents. This includes at least two times in which the name of the Pope is deduced. It should be noted that there were no significant Encyclicals on social issues before 1870. One of the reasons for this delay could have been the concern of the Popes for their own estates before this date.

The preachers that refer to these Encyclicals are González,⁹² Oglietti⁹³ and Pamio.⁹⁴ Table 11 indicates the manner in which they used them.

Table 11

Encyclicals on Social Issues Quoted by Spanish Preachers

Pope	Encyclical	González	Oglietti	Pamio	Total
Leo XIII	Rerum Novarum			1	1
	Eternis Patris	1			1
Pius XI	Quadragesimo Anno	4			4
John XXIII	Pacem in Terris			1	1
	Mater et Magistra		2	1	3
Paul VI	Populorum Progressio			2	2
Total		5	2	5	12

It should be noted that even after the appearance of the Encyclicals they have not been used in all of these sermons. It is a historical fact that there has been a lack of complete trust between Spain

⁹²González, pp. 66, 160, 162, 163.

⁹³Oglietti, pp. 253, 255.

⁹⁴Pamio, p. 337.

and the Holy See. This at least began because the Council of Trent was called by the Pope and not by the Emperor as in the past.⁹⁵ Spanish Bishops wanted to subject the authority of the Pope to the council at that time, but they did not succeed.⁹⁶ The evidence presented above indicates a reluctance to use Papal statements as proofs of arguments.

Papal Bulls. José Ruiz Medrano indicated in his sermon that Pope Paul III was the author of the Bull *Unigenitus*. He dates this Bull June 2, 1537 and calls it "The Bull of Liberty."⁹⁷ It is true that such a Bull does exist. However, it was decreed Sept. 8, 1713 by Clement XI. It deals with the problem of Jansenism and Gallicism, and not with the liberation of slaves.⁹⁸ On the other hand, Paul III did prohibit the enslavement of the Indians of the New World.⁹⁹ He also ruled on their baptism and the manner in which they should marry their first wife and eliminate polygamy.¹⁰⁰ This means that Ruiz Medrano was correct in his presentation. He only confused the Bull to which he made reference.

Other Documents. González used other ecclesiastical documents

⁹⁵Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Historia del Cristianismo*, II (El Paso, TX: Casa Bautista de Publicaciones, 1959), 226.

⁹⁶Henry S. Lucas, *The Renaissance and the Reformation* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1934), p. 656.

⁹⁷Ruiz, p. 117.

⁹⁸"Unigenitus," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, XIV, 397, 398.

⁹⁹Latourette, II, 222.

¹⁰⁰Vicente Riva Palacio, *Resumen Integral de México a Través de los Siglos*, II (México: General de Ediciones, 1964), 170.

besides those mentioned above. This includes the Decretals,¹⁰¹ the Codes of Canonical Law,¹⁰² documents of the Sacred College of Propaganda Fide¹⁰³ and the decisions of Vatican II.¹⁰⁴

Relationship Between Preaching and Papal Pronouncements. There is a definite relationship between preaching and papal pronouncements. This indicates the influence of preaching upon such pronouncements and the influence of these upon preaching.

One example of the influence of preaching on papal pronouncements is found in Montesino's first sermon. In this sermon he indicated that Indians have rational souls.¹⁰⁵ This sermon was preached the Sunday before Christmas of 1511.¹⁰⁶ According to Ruiz Medrano, Pope Paul III in 1537 declared that the Indians were not beasts, that is, they were not creatures without reasoning power.¹⁰⁷ Without quoting or naming the document, the *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* also indicates that Pius II expressed himself against slavery in 1462 and Paul III did the same in 1537.¹⁰⁸ Since the enslavement of Indians did not exist in 1462 it is clear that the Pope's statement came after Montesino's sermon. It is also a fact that Montesinos had to travel to Spain where he

¹⁰¹González, p. 103.

¹⁰²Ibid., pp. 184, 185.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 185.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁰⁵Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I (México: Ireneo Paz, 1877), 161.

¹⁰⁶Lewis Hanke, *Bartolomé de las Casas* (Habana: Ucar García, 1949), p. 19.

¹⁰⁷Ruiz, pp. 117, 118.

¹⁰⁸"Slavery," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, XII, 54.

defended his position and was influential in the laws that proclaimed the protection of the Indians.¹⁰⁹ There is no reason to doubt his influence on papal statements in their favor. The influence of preaching and preachers in the highest levels of the Catholic Church is very noticeable today. "Bishops from the 'Third World' brought these pastoral worries about the needs of their people into Vatican II, ... into the mainstream of the Church's life."¹¹⁰

The influence of papal pronouncements upon preaching is seen in the fact that they were quoted in sermons. In one case, one of them served as the text of the sermon. This was in Pellín's sermon on "Capitalism, Communism and Socialism."¹¹¹ No other papal statement is quoted in this sermon. However, it seems to have been inspired by the Encyclical *Mater et Magistra*. The former statement was of Pius XII, but the Encyclical was of John XXIII, addressed on May 15, 1961.¹¹² Among other things, this Encyclical indicates that Christians are radically opposed to Communism. It also indicates that they should not give their approval to the more moderate views of Socialism.¹¹³ Pellín indicated the failure of all three in solving the needs of humanity.¹¹⁴

All of this indicates that Catholic preaching and papal pronouncements influenced each other.

¹⁰⁹de las Casas, I, 167

¹¹⁰Joseph Gremillion, *The Gospel of Peace and Justice* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976), p. 7.

¹¹¹Pellín, p. 294.

¹¹²"*Mater et Magistra*," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, IX, 449.

¹¹³Gremillion, p. 150.

¹¹⁴Pellín, pp. 294-296.

The Question of Authority. There is no question that these documents are very important in the Catholic world. Pamio at least twice indicates that they express Catholic thinking. The second of these he indicates that it proves the responsible attitude of the Church to the world.¹¹⁵ On another two occasions he indicates that they are normative for Catholics. The first of these he indicates that the Church must identify itself with the poor. The second time he does not specify anything beyond the effort that must be done to help them in which he invites the participation of the separated brethren, the Protestants.¹¹⁶

Once Pamio indicates that an Encyclical is binding on all humanity. Quoting Paul VI's *Populorum Progressio* Pamio indicates that the problem of the underdevelopment of the countries of the Third World is a problem that belongs to the international community of nations.¹¹⁷

Even though Pamio makes papal pronouncements to be binding upon Catholics and at least in this last case practically normative for all of humanity, still he does not declare them to be inspired by God. None of the Catholic preachers on social issues indicates that God spoke when the Popes made their pronouncements.

V. SUMMARY

This chapter has endeavored to consider the different quotations used by Spanish preachers on social issues excluding those from the Bible. It has also considered the allusions that they made to different extra-Biblical sources.

¹¹⁵Pellín, pp. 337, 397.

¹¹⁶Pamio, pp. 30, 344.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 344.

Secular Sources. The first kind of sources to be considered were secular sources, especially those from antiquity. Many of these were used by most of the preachers that were considered in this study. Their quotations come from the time of the Pharaoh's to our times. These quotations are presented only as historical fact. Ruiz Medrano calls Plato "divine," but only in the classical sense.

Patristic Sources. Reference is made twenty-two times to the Church Fathers by four of the Spanish preachers on social issues. Sixteen of these references are by two preachers of the first half of the Nineteenth Century. Both Eastern and Western Church Fathers were used in these quotations. Even a quotation from Tertullian was used, and he is not considered authoritative by the Church. Only once Torrecilla used a quotation from Pope Gregory the Great that could be interpreted as used in an authoritative way.

Thomas Aquinas. González refers eight times to the writings of Aquinas. He admired Aquinas greatly, but never considered him to be an inspired writer in the Biblical sense of the word.

Papal Sources. Twenty-eight references to the Popes or their statements were made in these sermons. Fifteen of these were made by preachers of the second half of the Twentieth Century. Another twelve by a preacher in 1948. Some of these are presented as normative, but this is mainly done in relation to Catholics. Only one quotation used by Pamio seems to indicate that this authority of the Pope extends to all humanity. González also quoted from an additional five Ecclesiastical sources independent of papal pronouncements.

Concluding Remarks. Seven of the eleven Spanish preachers considered in this study quoted from the Church Fathers or from the Popes. This in itself is quite significant, indicating that they did not consider these writings to be normative. It also indicates that the Popes themselves did not address social issues until the later part of the Nineteenth Century.

Even those cases in which special authority is given to the sources limit this authority. This is done by specifying in one way or another that they concern Catholics. It should also be noted that in no instance are they considered to be inspired by God.

CHAPTER XV

THE BIBLE AND ITS AUTHORITY

A consideration of the use of historical, patristic and papal references by Spanish Preachers on Social Issues was made in the last chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to consider the way in which they used the Bible and to make a comparison between the way in which they used it and the manner in which they dealt with other sources of information.

I. BIBLE REFERENCES USED IN SPANISH SERMONS ON SOCIAL ISSUES

Table 12 indicates that many Biblical references were used in these sermons. The list of Biblical books in that table includes only the books that were actually used. This means that twenty books of the Old Testament were not used. Almost half of these were from the Minor Prophets. Three books of the Apocrypha were not used either. The same is true concerning seven books of the New Testament.

Table 12 includes both quotations and allusions to the Bible. Table 13 contains only true quotations from the Bible. Table 13 does not have all of the books of the Bible that are found in Table 12 because there were books to which only allusions were made without quoting the texts from those books. Actually, eight Old Testament, two Apocryphal and five New Testament books were only alluded to without actually quoting from them.

It should also be noted that there were more than twice as many allusions to the Bible as quotations that were taken from it. In the

Table 12

Use of the Bible in Spanish Sermons on Social Issues

Book of the Bible	Monte- sinos		García	Torrecilla						Cuevas	Caso	Ricaurte	González						Oglietti				Pamio			Pellín		Total
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	
Genesis						1	1			1							2				1							6
Exodus														3			3				1							7
Leviticus						1										1	1	1										4
Numbers					1													2										3
Deuteronomy				1		2											5								1			9
1 Samuel						1													1									2
1 Kings			1	1		1						1																4
2 Kings						1																						1
Esther			1																									1
Job	1	1																										2
Psalms				5	1					1				2			1	1						1				12
Proverbs			2	2		1															1							6
Ecclesiastes						1																						1
Isaiah			1	1		3																	2					7
Jeremiah						3																						3
Lamentations						2																						2
Ezekiel						1											1											2
Daniel				1																								1
Joel											1										1							2
Micah						1																						1
Habakkuk						1																						1
Old Testament	1	6	11	2	20	1				2	1	1		5	1	13	4		1		4	2	1			1		77

Table 12 (continued)

Book of the Bible	Monte- sinos		García	Torrecilla						Cuevas	Caso	Ricaurte	González						Oglietti				Pamio			Pellín		Total
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	
Tobit			3																							1		4
Wisdom				1																								1
Ecclesiasticus			4	2														1										7
Apocrypha			7	3														1								1		12
Matthew	2		3	8	2		1		1	4		3	1	1	9	1	2		4		3	1	5	1	6			58
Mark	1			1			1			1	1	2	2	1	1			1						1	1			15
Luke	2		3	4		1	1			3					2		1		1				5	1	2			26
John				1			2				1	3		2				4			1		2	5				21
Acts					2																		2		2			6
Romans				1	1				1						2			1										6
1 Corinthians						1									1				1									3
2 Corinthians						1	1	1							1													4
Galatians													1					1						1				3
Ephesians															1													1
Philippians							1								1													2
Colossians													1											1				2
2 Thessalonians				1																								1
1 Timothy				1			1		1																			3
Philemon																		1										1
Hebrews															1													1
James																										1		1
1 John				1	1				1	1								2						2				8
Revelation										1					1													2
New Testament	5		6	18	6	3	8	1	4	10	2	8	5	4	20	1	3	1	15	1	3	2	12	5	20	1		164
Total	5	1	19	32	8	23	9	1	4	12	3	9	5	4	25	2	16	5	16	2	3	6	14	6	20	2	1	253

Table 13

Biblical Quotations in Spanish Sermons on Social Issues

Book of the Bible	Monte- sinos		García	Torrecilla					Cuevas	Caso	Ricaurte	González						Oglietti				Pamio			Pellín		Total
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6			1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	
Genesis							1									2											3
Leviticus																	1										1
Numbers																	2										2
Deuteronomy				1		1										1									1		4
Job		1																									1
Psalms														1		1											2
Proverbs						1																					1
Ecclesiastes						1																					1
Jeremiah						2																					2
Lamentations						2																					2
Joel																					1						1
Micah						1																					1
Habakkuk						1																					1
Old Testament		1		1		9	1							1		4	3			1					1		22
Ecclesiasticus			4	2																							6

Table 13 (continued)

Book of the Bible	Monte- sinos		García	Torrecilla						Cuevas	Caso	Ricaurte	González						Oglietti				Pamio			Pellín		Total
	1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6				1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	
Matthew					2					1		2			4		1		4		3	1	2		3			23
Mark													1						1					1	1			4
Luke	1		2	2											1		1		1				4		1			12
John							2				1								1		1			1	4			10
Acts																								1				1
Romans															2				1									3
2 Corinthians								1							1													2
Galatians													1						1						1			3
Colossians																								1				1
1 Timothy				1					1																			2
Philemon																			1									1
Hebrews															1													1
James																										1		1
1 John			1	1	1																			1				4
New Testament	1		3	4	3		2	1	1	1	1	2	2		9		2		9		3	2	6	2	13	1		68
Total	1	1	7	7	3	9	3	1	1	1	1	2	2		10		6	3	9		3	3	6	2	13	1	1	96

case of the Old Testament there were more than three times as many allusions as quotations.

It should also be noted that the New Testament was used more than twice as much as the Old Testament. In the case of quotations it is more than three times as much. It could be stated that the book of Matthew was used almost as much as the entire Old Testament.

González' third sermon used the Bible more than the others. At the same time, the Bible is quoted more in Pamio's third sermon than in the others. Pellín used the Bible the least. He even had one sermon in which he did not use a single Bible text, only a quotation from Pius XII. This sermon is not included in either Table.

Antón de Montesinos. His experience is singled out because it was truly unique. America had been discovered just over twenty years before he preached these sermons. The city of Santo Domingo was not ten years old, since it had to be rebuilt after the hurricane of 1502.¹ The church building itself only had a thatched roof.

Montesino's first sermon was against the enslavement of the Indians using the system of the *encomiendas*. The Biblical text used in this sermon is very well known. Not only that, but Luke 3:4 is an appropriate text for the Advent season, in which Montesinos preached. The Spaniards complained to the governor of the island concerning the contents of this sermon. Diego Colón talked with the head monk who promised that another sermon would be preached the following week concerning the same subject. With this he left, satisfied that Montesinos

¹Rayford W. Logan, *Haiti and the Dominican Republic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 28, 29.

would recant and everything would return to normal.² However, the second sermon is a reiteration of the first one. Montesinos indicated once more that the Spaniards were sinning by enslaving the Indians. The text chosen for this sermon is amazing. Even though Montesinos had the help of the other friars for the preparation of both sermons, still it is amazing that they were able to come out with Job 36:3. This was done in a time in which there probably was no access to a concordance. Even if they existed, the American Continent was not likely to be the place where such a thing could be found.

How did they do this? Did they use one of the collection of texts that existed during the Middle Ages? Did they assign a portion of the Scriptures to be read by each friar until they came to the text that they would consider most appropriate for the occasion? These questions cannot be answered. However, they found the text they needed.

Blending of Biblical Pictures into the Text of the Sermon. This was done quite often by these Spanish preachers. Cuevas and Ricaurte were the masters of this. This is indicated by the following quotations. The Biblical source has been included in parenthesis, even though it was not found in the original text of the sermon.

Cuevas does this throughout his sermon. However, the following quotation illustrates it more than the others:

Since the Incarnate Word chose to be born in a manger (Lk 2:7), to earn His sustenance with the sweat of His brow (Gn 3:19) and not to have where to rest His head (Lk 9:58), poverty became so

²Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I (México: I-reneo Paz, 1877), 161-163.

dignified and sanctified that every thinking individual must respectfully bow before the majesty of honest misery.³

Ricaurte did not do this as much as Cuevas. The following quotation indicates his own proficiency at interweaving the Bible with the rest of his sermon:

I imagine the divine Master as He walked in Galilee and in Tyre and Sidon, healing the lepers, those that were blind from birth (Jn 9), over there bringing comfort to the Canaanite woman (Mt 15:21-28; Mk 7:24-30) or giving the joy of forgiveness to the humble sinful lady at the offering vases (Mk 12:41-44; Lk 21:1-4); doing good to all, leaving a word of comfort to the unsteady soul.⁴

Source of the Quotation. As noted above, these preachers were not very good at indicating the Biblical text that they were alluding to in their sermon. Oglietti used the Bible quite extensively, however, only once did he indicate the source of his quotation.⁵ On the other hand, Pamio did this quite often.⁶

Torrecilla indicated his Biblical source at least thirty-one times. He indicated the book and the chapter in Roman numerals. At least three times he indicated one chapter for another.⁷ In the last

³José de Jesús Cuevas, *Discursos Religiosos* (México: V. Agueros, 1898), p. 368.

⁴José Eusebio Ricaurte, "Sermón para la Ceremonia de Apertura de los Trabajos de Construcción de la Capilla para un Hospital para los Pobres," *Los Jovenes Oradores Sagrados* (Bogotá: Minerva, 1936), p.190.

⁵Héctor O. Oglietti, *El Evangelio sobre los Tejados* (Buenos Aires" Producciones Argentinas de Televisión, 1966), p. 250.

⁶Virgilio Pamio, *El Plan de la Salvación en la Meditación de los Evangelios Dominicales* (Buenos Aires: Guadalupe, 1968), p. 27.

⁷Pedro María de Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Conferencias Catequistas*, I (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1857), p. 55; Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Ceremonias Sagradas*, I (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1856), pp. 281, 283.

two he confused 62 for 42. This mistake can be easily understood when considering the Roman numerals that he used to designate the chapters of the Bible. In this case the change would only be in the order of the same letters, LXII for XLII.

González also presented the number of the chapter he used in a Biblical reference at least nine times.⁸ In the last three of these he also indicated the verse that he used in his quotation. He was the only one to do this. In another occasion he indicated that a statement was found in the Psalms without indicating the specific Psalm⁹ or in the gospels, without indicating where it was found.¹⁰ This emphasizes the general Biblical ignorance or lack of interest of his listeners in looking up the texts that were quoted. He knew this and proceeded accordingly.

II. BIBLE VERSIONS USED

Spanish writers from the Classical period used both the Hebrew and the Greek languages in their Biblical writings. This is true of continental writers as Fray Luis de León and writers in the newly discovered lands of America such as Sigüenza y Góngora.¹¹ It is amazing that it was not used by more of these preachers in their sermons on social issues. The use of both Hebrew and Greek in Spanish preaching

⁸Albino González Menéndez-Reigada, *Directrices Cristianas de Ordenación Social* (Madrid: Seminario de Problemas Hispanoamericanos, 1949), pp. 181, 182, 219-221.

⁹Ibid., p. 181

¹⁰Ibid., p. 203.

¹¹Luis de León, *De los Nombres de Cristo* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1968), pp. 26, 114; Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Obras Históricas* (México: Porrúa, 1960), p. 248.

and literature is a subject that deserves to be studied on its own merits.

Latin Text of the Vulgate. The Council of Trent accepted this to be the inspired Word of God. It was only natural for Spanish preachers to use it in their sermons. However, it is only a version in an ancient language. Montesinos,¹² Torrecilla¹³ and González¹⁴ used it even without offering a Spanish translation.

It was used often with a Spanish translation. Montesinos offered a text that differs from the Vulgate. This was in his second sermon where he quoted Job 36:3 as "*repetam scientiam meam a principio, et sermones meos sine mandatio esse probado.*"¹⁵ The second sentence in this verse is completely changed, since the Vulgate has "*repetam scientiam meam a principio, et operatorem meum probado iustum.*"¹⁶ The translation of the text as presented by Montesinos is "my wisdom from the beginning shall be repeated, and my conversations are to be verified without a command." The text from the Vulgate could be translated "my wisdom from the beginning shall be repeated, and my Operator shall be proved Righteous." The Revised Standard Version translates this text "I will fetch my knowledge from afar, and ascribe righteousness to my Maker." It should be considered, however, that Montesinos did this before the time of the Council of Trent.

¹²de las Casas, I, 161.

¹³Torrecilla, *Ceremonias Sagradas*, I, 284, 285.

¹⁴González, p. 182.

¹⁵de las Casas, I, 163.

¹⁶Bonifatio Fischer, ed., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatem Versionem* (Madrid: Católica, 1953), p. 601.

Torrecilla also changed the order of the words of the Vulgate. He did this at least twice in his sermons. The first time quoting Habakkuk 3:8¹⁷ and the second time quoting Romans 13:10.¹⁸ As Montesinos, he also invented his own wording at least once, while quoting 2 Corinthians 6:11.¹⁹ All of this was done after the Council of Trent, when the text was considered to be an absolute or fixed text.

González presents his own translation of Psalms 72:14 from the Vulgate, followed by the Latin text. In both cases he indicates that the Messiah would free His people from "usury and iniquity."²⁰ This same idea, with a little different wording is found in the version of Scío de San Miguel.²¹ Matthew considered the context of this text to be Messianic (cf. Ps 72:10,11,15 and Mt 2:11). The Septuagint uses τόκου, which is the Genitive form of τόκος, considered above.²² However, the Hebrew uses a form of ἡτ²³ which is defined as "oppression, tormentor, petty tyrant."²⁴

¹⁷Torrecilla, *Ceremonias Sagradas*, I, 284, 285.

¹⁸Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Sermones Morales*, III (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1854), 101.

¹⁹Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 76. ²⁰González, p. 181.

²¹Felipe Scío de San Miguel, tr., *La Santa Biblia*, III (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1857), 272.

²²Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX Interpretes*, II (Stuttgart: Privileg. Wurt. Bibelanstalt, 1950), 77.

²³Rudolph Kittel, ed. *Biblia Hebraica* (Stuttgart: Wurtembergische Bibelanstalt, 1961), p. 1038.

²⁴Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, eds., *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), 1028.

French Version. The influence of the French over the Spanish has been considered above. It is noticed once more in recent times when González quotes Mark 14:38 in French and not in Spanish or even in Latin.²⁵

Personal Version. All of these preachers preached out of their own translation of the Bible. This was based on the Vulgate. As noted below, sometimes they did use existing versions in Spanish, but this was the exception rather than the rule. It could even be said that this was the exception that proved the validity of this rule. Most of the time they used their own translation they did not present the text of the Vulgate. Most of the time their translation can be considered acceptable. This includes Torrecilla, Cuevas, González, Ricaurte, Ruiz Medrano and Pellín.

Some used more liberties than others in translating the text. The following are presented as examples, and not with the purpose of pointing out these preachers as unique in doing these things. Oglietti adapted his translation of Matthew 28:20 to the purposes of his sermon, using the Future tense in the first part of the text. This tense is not found in the original, the Vulgate, or any other translation.²⁶ Pamio also has an interesting variation in Luke 4:18-22. "The Holy Spirit is upon me ..." ²⁷ while the text says "the Spirit of the Lord ..." Caso can be considered to present a paraphrase where he quotes John 5:17 as "My Father still works."²⁸

²⁵González, p. 27. ²⁶Oglietti, p. 29. ²⁷Pamio, p. 28.

²⁸Antonio Caso, *Discursos a la Nación Mexicana* (México: Porrúa, 1922), p. 235.

Scío de San Miguel. This Spanish version of the Bible was presented in 1793, soon after the ban on Bibles in the vernacular was lifted. Félix Torres Amat's version came in 1823. García Mazo does not present any similarities with this version. There are similarities between his quotations of the Bible and the version of *Scío de San Miguel*. These are presented in Table 14.

Table 14

Similarities Between the Biblical Quotations of García Mazo
and the Version of *Scío de San Miguel*

García Mazo	<i>Scío de San Miguel</i>
Vended lo que poseeis, y dad limosna. Haced <i>bolsillos</i> que no se envejecen. Haced <i>un tesoro</i> en los cielos, <i>adonde no se acerca el ladrón</i> , ni roe la polilla. (Lk 12:33).	Vended lo que poseeis, y dad limosna. Haced <i>bolsas</i> que no se envejecen, ... <i>tesoro</i> en los cielos, ... <i>adonde el ladrón no llega</i> , ni roe la polilla. (Lk 12:33).
Pon tu tesoro en los <i>preceptos</i> del Altísimo, y te aprovechará mas que el oro. Encierra la limosna en el corazón del pobre, y ella rogará por tí para librarte de todo mal. Mas que escudo de poderoso y mas que lanza peleará contra tu enemigo. (Ecclesiasticus 29:14-16).	Pon tu tesoro en los <i>mandamientos</i> del Altísimo, y te aprovechará mas que el oro. Encierra la limosna en el corazón del pobre, y ella rogará por tí para librarte de todo mal. Mas que escudo de poderoso y mas que lanza peleará contra tu enemigo. (Ecclesiasticus 29:14-16).
Sé de ánimo generoso con el humilde, y para hacerle limosna, no le des largas. (Ecclesiasticus 29:11).	Sé de ánimo <i>más</i> generoso con el humilde, y para hacerle limosna, no le des largas. (Ecclesiasticus 29:11).
No desprecies el alma hambrienta, y no exasperes al pobre en su necesidad. No <i>aflijas</i> el corazón del desvalido, <i>y no dilates</i> dar al angustiado. No <i>atrojes</i> el ruego del atribulado, y no <i>apartes tu rostro</i> del necesitado. No <i>retires</i> tus ojos del	No desprecies el alma hambrienta, y no exasperes al pobre en su necesidad. No <i>aquejes</i> el corazón del desvalido, <i>ni dilates el</i> dar al angustiado. No <i>deseches</i> el ruego del atribulado, y no <i>vuelvas tu cara</i> del necesitado. No <i>apartes</i> tus ojos del

Table 14 (continued)

García Mazo	Scío de San Miguel
menesteroso ... y no des <i>ocasión</i> a los que te buscan <i>para que te maldigan</i> por detrás; porque oída será la plegaria del que te maldijere en la amargura de su alma, y le <i>atenderá</i> aquel que <i>le</i> hizo. Inclina al pobre tu <i>oído</i> sin desdén, paga tu <i>deber</i> , y respóndele cosas apacibles con mansedumbre. Muéstrate afable a la congregación de los pobres. (Ecclesiasticus 4:1-6,8,7).	menesteroso ... y no des <i>lugar</i> a a los que te buscan <i>de maldecirte</i> por detrás; porque oída será la plegaria del que te maldijere en la amargura de su alma, y le <i>oír</i> á aquel que <i>lo</i> hizo. Inclina al pobre tu <i>oreja</i> sin desdén, paga tu <i>deuda</i> , y respóndele cosas apacibles con mansedumbre. Muéstrate afable a la congregación de los pobres. (Ecclesiasticus 4:1-6,8,7).

Sources: Santiago José García Mazo, "Sermón sobre la Limosna," *Biblioteca de Predicadores*, ed. Vicente Canos, IV (México: Vicente Silva, 1855), 408; Scío, V, 225; III, 842, 773, 774.

These are thirteen of the fifteen texts quoted in the introduction of García Mazo's sermon. The other two do not have too many similarities. The words that are not the same have been written in italics. From these quotations it cannot be said that García Mazo quoted from the version of Scío de San Miguel, but neither can it be stated that he ignored it. It can be said that he quoted it, sometimes rather loosely.

Torrecilla also quoted from the version of Scío de San Miguel. At least, he came as close to this as García Mazo. Table 15 will indicate the four instances in which he did this. Considering the number of Biblical texts that he used, this may not seem as much, but it is a strong indication that he was acquainted with this version.

The last two texts are perfect reproductions of the text of Scío, even in punctuation marks. The second one indicates the changes that these preachers made in the text.

Table 15

Similarities Between the Biblical Quotations of Torrecilla
and the Version of Scío de San Miguel

Torrecilla	Scío de San Miguel
Pon tu tesoro en los <i>mandatos</i> del Altísimo y te aprovechará más que el oro. (Ecclesiasticus 29:14).	Pon tu tesoro en los <i>mandamientos</i> del Altísimo, y te aprovechará mas que el oro. (Ecclesiasticus 29:14).
Tú sembrarás y no segarás <i>la cosecha</i> ; tú pensarás la aceituna <i>y no te dará aceite</i> . (Mich. 6:15).	Tu sembrarás, y no segarás ...: tú pensarás la aceituna, <i>y no te ungirás con el óleo</i> . (Mich. 6:15).
El que tuviere riquezas de este mundo, y viere a su hermano tener necesidad, y le cerrar sus entrañas; ¿cómo está la caridad de Dios en él? (1 John 3:17).	El que tuviere riquezas de este mundo, y viere a su hermano tener necesidad, y le cerrar sus entrañas: ¿cómo está la caridad de Dios en él? (1 John 3:17).
El que no ama no conoce a Dios, porque Dios es caridad. (1 John 4:8).	El que no ama no conoce a Dios, porque Dios es caridad. (1 John 4:8).

Sources: Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 56; *Ceremonias Sagradas*, I, 280; *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 55; *Sermones Morales*, III, 97; Scío, III, 842; IV, 707; V, 819, 821.

González quoted the Bible quite extensively. He used his own translation in the longer quotations. A similarity with Scío's version is seen in Genesis 3:19 where his quotation is "con el sudor de tu rostro comerás *tu* pan"²⁹ while Scío translates this sentence "con el sudor de tu rostro comerás *el* pan."³⁰ In Matthew 5:48 his quotation is the same as that of both Scío and Torres Amat. However, even in this case it is not verbatim, since González eliminates some words of the text.³¹

²⁹González, p. 203. ³⁰Scío, I, 16. ³¹González, p. 103.

Torres Amat. This is the second Catholic Spanish version of the Bible since the Council of Trent. It appeared in 1823. It should be noted that only three times are there indications of acquaintanship with this version of the Bible.

The first one is in the sermons of González in relationship to Matthew 5:48. This has been mentioned above, since it is a case in which there is also similarity with Scío's version. The second one is also in his sermons in a quotation from Galatians 2:20. Even here, the similarity is not in all of the text, but only in the last part of the quotation.³²

The third one is in a sermon from Oglietti. He is not quoting from it, since the first part of the text differs from Torres Amat, but the last part of the text indicates that he could have been acquainted with this version.

Table 16

Similarities Between a Biblical Quotation of Oglietti
and the Version of Torres Amat

Oglietti	
Yo ... estaré <i>todos los días</i> con vosotros hasta la consumación de los siglos. (Mt 28:20).	Yo <i>mismo</i> estaré <i>siempre</i> con vosotros, hasta la consumación de los siglos. (Mt 28:20).

Sources: Oglietti, p. 29; Félix Torres Amat, *Sagrada Biblia, Nuevo Testamento* (El Paso, TX: Revista Católica, 1946), p. 37.

³²González, p. 15.

Versión Estereotípica. This is a very interesting Protestant version of the Nineteenth Century. The Eighth Edition of this version used for this study was published in 1864. Torrecilla's sermons cannot be dated after 1856. It is not easy to consider that Torrecilla had access even to the First Edition, since this was published in a Protestant country. However, it is interesting to note that Torrecilla translates the expression "princeps provinciarum" in Lamentations 1:1 as *princesa de las provincias* ("princess of the provinces").³³ This is exactly the same expression that is used in this Spanish version of the Bible published in the United States in 1864.³⁴ It was not an edition of the Valera Version, since it differs in many parts from Valera's versions before and after this date. However, it was a Protestant Bible. Could Torrecilla have been acquainted with the First Edition of this Bible? Did he use it? Was it only coincidental? One quotation is not sufficient evidence to draw a conclusion, but it is an interesting coincidence.

III. AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE

These preachers do not question the authority of the Bible. Actually, the way in which they speak of the Bible indicates that they consider it to be the supreme authority in practice.

Source. One of the reasons for this authority is the source of

³³Torrecilla, *Ceremonias Sagradas*, I, 278.

³⁴*La Biblia Sagrada, El Antiguo Testamento*. (Nueva York: Edición Estereotípica, 1864), p. 801.

the words of Scripture. The words from the Fathers and the Popes are words that come from Fathers and Popes. The quotations from the Old Testament are credited to the prophets and that is more than that which can be said of sources that come after the time of Jesus. This is done at least three times by Torrecilla referring to Micah,³⁵ Jeremiah³⁶ and even the book of Psalms.³⁷ In this he naturally followed the example of Peter (Ac 2:29,30) and of Matthew (Mt 13:35; 27:35). The authority of the apostle is also recognized. Torrecilla quotes him simple as "the apostle Paul"³⁸ and this is enough to consider the statement as normative to his listeners and to his readers.

If this is true concerning the words of the prophets and the apostels, it is even more so concerning the words of Jesus. This can be seen not only in Torrecilla,³⁹ but also in all of the others. González did precisely the same thing this century.⁴⁰ This was done by Ricaurte in Catholic Colombia⁴¹ and by Oglietti⁴² and Pamio⁴³ in Argentina. Ruiz Medrano's sermon is not too Biblical, being a commemorative sermon, and he also spoke of Jesus and His words in a very strong way, indicating that nobody would question them.⁴⁴ The same is true of the preachers

³⁵Torrecilla, *Ceremonias Sagradas*, I, 280. ³⁶Ibid., I, 292.

³⁷Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 59.

³⁸Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 76.

³⁹Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 60.

⁴⁰González, p. 90. ⁴¹*Los Jovenes Oradores Sagrados*, p. 191.

⁴²Oglietti, pp. 29, 255. ⁴³Pamio, p. 392.

⁴⁴José Ruiz Medrano, *Una Voz de México* (México: Jus, 1962), pp. 108, 110.

that did not belong to the clergy, Cuevas⁴⁵ and Caso.⁴⁶ The outstanding thing of Caso is his role in the formation of an atheistic society.

The authority of the Bible was linked with the authority of the Lord. Even words not recorded in the Gospels are accepted as words of the Lord. Torrecilla credits Him as the Author of words of Isaiah.⁴⁷

This means that it was sufficient to say that something was found in the Scriptures to have it accepted as true and binding.⁴⁸ Jesus also did this (Mt 4:4,7,10). Protestants did this, but Catholics are not considered to have done this so often.

There was no question of the eschatological fulfillment of the words of Jesus. Many of these preachers accepted this openly. The one that did this most recently in this group was Pamio.⁴⁹

The Bible as Normative. Montesinos promised to prove the truthfulness of his statements. He did this with the Bible.⁵⁰ García Mazo began his sermon with many quotations from Scripture that proved the need of almsgiving. He indicated that this was both recommended and commanded in the Bible. It was a precept that must be obeyed.⁵¹ González indicated that these writings were precepts, principles and

⁴⁵Cuevas, 369.

⁴⁶Caso, 235.

⁴⁷Torrecilla, *Ceremonias Sagradas*, I, 281.

⁴⁸Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequísticas*, I, 59.

⁴⁹Pamio, 392.

⁵⁰de las Casas, I, 161.

⁵¹Santiago José García Mazo, "Sermón sobre la Limosna," *Biblioteca de Predicadores*, ed., Vicente Canos, IV (México: Vicente Silva, 1855), 408, 409.

imperatives.⁵² Pamio also indicated clearly that the duty of loving one another is nothing less than a commandment of God by which we be judged at the end of time.⁵³ Oglietti did the same thing.⁵⁴

These are not all of their statements concerning the authority of the Scriptures. They are sufficient to indicate that there was no doubt in the minds of these preachers that if something was found in the Bible it was the word of God⁵⁵ and must be obeyed.

IV. EXEGESIS

Sometimes it is not easy to distinguish clearly between the functions of exegesis and hermeneutics. Some statements in a sermon can indicate both the concept that the preacher had of the original meaning of the text as well as its meaning for his listeners.

In considering the exegesis and hermeneutics of these preachers it is not easy to discover the methods they employed. What is more, modern methods and criticism should not be applied with all of their force to preachers of the past. This creates another difficulty for this phase of this study.

Whatever the case may be, as far as this study is concerned, "exegesis" means the manner in which the text was understood in its original setting as far as these preachers are concerned. One of its definitions is "the discovery of what the text means in itself, i.e. the

⁵²González, pp. 103, 107, 15, 103.

⁵³Pamio, 392.

⁵⁴Oglietti, p. 256.

⁵⁵Torrecilla, *Ceremonias Sagradas*, I, 292.

original intention of the write, and the meaning the passage would have held for the readers for whom it was first intended."⁵⁶

The exegesis of the text will not be considered in this text, but the exegesis of these preachers, if this is possible. Very few of them were concerned with the meaning of the texts to those that received them. This means that this will be a short but important section of this chapter and of the study as a whole.

Proof Texting. Having such a high regard for the authority of the Bible ends in using it as a proof for your arguments. There is nothing wrong with this as long as it is done properly. The improper method is to take its statements out of context in order to prove your arguments. Montesinos did this in his use of Job 36:3. However, there is nothing wrong with his exegesis when the Bible is taken as a whole and its opposition to slavery is considered.⁵⁷

On the other hand, when texts are used to prove an argument without taking them out of context, this cannot be considered to be wrong. García Mazo did this in the introduction to his sermon to prove the importance of almsgiving.⁵⁸

This indicates that both good and poor exegesis is to be found in the sermons of Montesinos and García Mazo. Even poor exegesis on a specific text was good when taken as a whole. The same can be said of Torrecilla. Generally he did not depart from the teaching of the text,

⁵⁶R. T. France, "Exegesis in Practice: Two Samples," *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), p. 252.

⁵⁷de las Casas, I, 163.

⁵⁸Canos, IV, 409.

but at least three times he departed from it considerably in order to prove his point.

The first of these is where he indicates that the poor are intercessors for the rich that give them alms because Jesus has identified Himself with them. He bases himself on Luke 16:9.⁵⁹ Actually, Luke 16:1-13 is the parable of the Dishonest Steward, from which it is impossible to find any teaching concerning the poor.

The second time he put words into the Philistines and Eli's mouth that they did not say. He even called Eli "the humble priest."⁶⁰ This characteristic is not given Eli in all of the Scriptures.

His worse misinterpretation is in his use of Proverbs 23:34,35. This text speaks of the effect of alcoholic beverages on the individual. He makes his own Latin text and quotes it out of context. He also uses allegory in this case in which this does not apply.⁶¹ This, together with Montesino's use of Job 36:3 indicates the weakness of proof texting, even though it was done for a good cause and for one that by and large has the support of the Bible as a whole.

Different than changing the meaning of a text is addint to it a concept that is not there. This was also done by Torrecilla with 2 Thessalonians 3:3. "God is faithful in His promises and the truth of His words will justify itself always everywhere according to St. Paul (II Thes. III, v. 3)."⁶² All of this is true, but the last part of

⁵⁹Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 61.

⁶⁰Torrecilla, *Ceremonias Sagradas*, I, 282.

⁶¹Ibid., I, 293.

⁶²Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 59.

this sentence represents Torrecilla's conclusion based on Paul's statement. What is wrong is that he does not indicate this.

The same thing was done by Ricaurte when he spoke of the joy of forgiveness received from Christ by the widow who gave the two mites.⁶³ This is not found in the text, but Ricaurte indicates that it is found there.

González also placed his own interpretation in the text. He made the following statement:

"The law did not bring anything to perfection," says St. Paul when speaking of the ancient Law, which was the same natural law with a few additions and perfectioning, "but the grace by Jesus Christ."⁶⁴

According to the quotation marks used by González the first and the last part of this statement are taken from the Bible. The first part is found in Hebrews 7:19. The second part is not found in this specific way in the Bible, much less in conjunction with the first part. The statement as a whole agrees with the teaching of the Bible, but it is not found in the Bible in the manner in which González presents it.

In another text González translated a text in a different way than with the message that it presents. He indicates that Luke 6:30 says "*mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes*: dad prestado sin ningún interés."⁶⁵ His Spanish translation is "loan without any interest." Actually, the Latin says "give mutually, without expectin anything." Later on he comments on *mutuum* indicating that a loan is based on a relationship of reciprocity, which is an obligation among different

⁶³Los Jovenes Oradores Sagrados, p. 191.

⁶⁴González, p. 119.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 181, 182.

persons in the world.⁶⁶ However, he makes no comment on his use of the word "interest," which is not found in the Latin, such less in the original.

Dividing the Text. Quoting a portion of the text was quite common in these sermons. Probably one of the most outstanding instances of this is the quotation from Matthew 25:34-36 in the conclusion of Cuevas' sermon. He skipped certain portions of the text in his quotation.⁶⁷ He had the precedent of Jesus, who did this in His sermon in Nazareth (cf. Lk 4:18,19; Is 61:1,2).

Florilegium. The practice of making a chain of texts was known at least since the days of the Essenes. Some of these preachers did it quite habitually. This includes the introduction to the sermon of García Mazo⁶⁸ as well as the section of Ruiz Medrano's sermon in which he presents what he calls "the voice of Christ" concerning the issue of slavery.⁶⁹ This instance is very interesting because he used his own paraphrase quite extensively, adapting Jesus' words to his purpose.

Enhancing the Meaning of the Text. The most important function of exegesis is to bring about a more complete understanding of the text within its context. This does not limit itself to the pericopaw of which it forms a part, but also the historical circumstances under which it was presented.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 182.

⁶⁷Cuevas, p. 369.

⁶⁸Canos, IV, 408, 409.

⁶⁹Ruiz, p. 111.

Only Pamio's sermons are based on the text. This means that only these sermons would have a true exegetical impact. Besides these, a section of Ruiz Medrano's sermon on slavery enhances the message of the book of Philemon. There are also many short statements that have some exegetical significance. Some involve general topics, others involve social issues, and still others refer to the principles that inspire these actions.

Among the short statements that have some exegetical value are the one in which Torrecilla presents Jesus as the "divine legislator" in his comments on Matthew 19:21.⁷⁰ Ricaurte used the concept of God inhabiting the heaven of heavens (1 Kings 8:27)⁷¹ and amplified it with Isaiah 57:15, indicating that God is delighted with living with whom-ever is in disgrace.⁷² These thoughts can be considered to be those that represent general topics.

Torrecilla indicates that the primitive Church distributed its goods not according to the merits of those that received them, but according to their needs. With this he brings a greater insight into the presentation of Acts 2:44,45.⁷³ Another exegetical insight that can be considered to present social problems is Oglietti's statement that misery follows the ravages of hunger. He was commenting on Joel 1:8,10, 17,19 when he made that comment.⁷⁴

Caso presents two principles in these short statements. One of

⁷⁰Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 56.

⁷¹*Los Jovenes Oradores Sagrados*, 190.

⁷²*Ibid.*

⁷³Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 98.

⁷⁴Oglietti, 249.

them indicates that service will come out of an experience of Jesus working in the heart of the individual. This is seen in Caso's statement that the virtuous will work with God because the Father and the Son worked together. This togetherness will also be seen in those that follow the Son. He made this statement commenting on John 5:17.⁷⁵ He also indicated that Jesus did not teach dead and abstract rules. Supreme charity is equal to supreme enthusiasm and persuasion. This is taught by the two great commandments of the law, Mark 12:30,31.⁷⁶ Torrecilla adds that it is impossible to love God without loving our fellow men. Likewise, it is impossible to love these without loving God, 1 John 4:20.⁷⁷

Even though González does not base his sermons on the Biblical text, he does quote quite extensively from Leviticus and Numbers in his Sixth Lecture. After quoting from Numbers 33:51-54 he indicates that these texts teach that 1) the land belongs to God; 2) God gives it in possession; 3) He distributes it by lot among the families; and 4) this is done according to their needs.⁷⁸ In these comments he both enhances the meaning of the text and seeks its application to the present situation. Later on he quotes from Leviticus 25:8,10,13-16,23-28 and indicates that these texts 1) affirm once more that the land belongs to God; 2) that its possession appears to be related to liberty, where the person that does not possess it becomes a laborer of the one that does; 3) if someone sells, that person does not sell the land, but the right

⁷⁵Caso, p. 235.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 241.

⁷⁷Torrecilla, *Demostraciones Católicas*, I, 535.

⁷⁸González, pp. 219, 220.

to work it; 4) that such sales are abrogated the Year of Jubilee; 5) that the buyer is under obligation of providing subsistence to the seller between one Jubilee and another.⁷⁹ Here once more an effort is made to enhance the meaning of the text and to find applications for our times.

As indicated above, Ruiz Medrano had more than a brief statement of exegetical value. This was while commenting on Paul's treatment of Philemon. Ruiz indicates that in the Roman Empire escaped slaves were marked in their foreheads, beaten and even killed. Paul's kindness toward Onesimus represent a summary of the thought of the primitive church concerning slavery.⁸⁰

It has also been indicated that Pamio's sermons are the only ones that are truly based on the Biblical text. Naturally, these have greater insights into the meaning of the text than the other sermons.

Commenting on Matthew 3:11,12 in his first sermon he indicates that John and his disciples expected a powerful Messiah. They were even scandalized with His kindness and His sweet disposition. He calmed them and justified His actions with Isaiah 35:5; 61:1. Pamio indicates that this was one of the texts that Jesus had used in His sermon in Nazareth.⁸¹ This relationship is an exegetical truth that is not perceived only by reading this experience in His life.

In his second sermon Pamio makes several distinctions between the feeding of the 5000 and the feeding of the 4000 (Jn 6:1-15; Mk 8:

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 221-223.

⁸⁰*Los Jovenes Oradores Sagrados*, pp. 110, 111. ⁸¹Pamio, p. 27.

1-9). Besides indicating that the first miracle was performed among the Jews and the second among pagans. Pamio considers that God manifests greater power when there is greater need, since man offered Him less in the first case. He indicates that Jesus used poor means so that man may not boast. The glory belongs to God. Even though the number fed in the second miracle was smaller, the need could have been greater, since they had been without eating for three days. Jesus showed compassion according to the record in Mark, and this is something that the Church must manifest in serving humanity.⁸²

Concerning the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus Pamio loses sight of the lesson that Jesus obviously tried to drive home of a meaningful resurrection in the near future (Lk 16:31), according to the way it is presented in the Gospel. He also loses sight of the secondary lesson of finding in the Scriptures sufficient information for salvation (Lk 16:29). He does point out that this parable is not against the rich, but against those that are evil among the rich. These are identified by the fact that they do not help the poor.⁸³

In his third sermon he also presents some interesting exegetical insights from the parable of the Good Samaritan. He indicates that this is Jesus' anticlerical parable. A heretic is the hero of this parable. It is interesting to notice that he finds a relationship between Matthew 5:24, where it speaks of the importance of having a good relationship with others before presenting offerings to God and this parable.⁸⁴

⁸²Ibid., p. 336.

⁸³Ibid., p. 346.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 392.

V. HERMENEUTICS

The role of hermeneutics and exégesis often overlap. The same can be said of the role of hermeneutics and exposition. In a way, it could be said that hermeneutics is the link that joins exegesis and exposition. For the purpose of this study it can be said that hermeneutics is the meaning of the Scriptures for today. With Fuchs and Ebeling it can be considered to be the practical relevance of the Scriptures for today's world.⁸³ However, since this study concerns itself with sermons that have been preached in the past, hermeneutics seeks the way in which these preachers made the Scriptures meaningful to the world to which they were addressing themselves.

In a way, all of these sermons had hermeneutical significance. Most of these sermons face directly the social issues of their day. The most outstanding exceptions to this are Ruiz Medrano's sermon commemorating the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of all slaves in Mexico, Ricaurte's sermon for the building of the chapel in the hospital of Bogotá and Pellín's sermon on the one hundredth anniversary of the orphanage in Caracas. Even these have some hermeneutical insights.

Most of the hermeneutical significance of these sermons has been considered in previous chapters, since they have been presenting the manner in which these preachers solved social problems. However, some aspects can be properly emphasized below.

⁸³A. C. Thiselton, "The New Hermeneutic," Marshall, p. 308.

Slavery. For Ruiz Medrano slavery was practically an academic subject. It was something of the past. However, for Montesinos it was a current topic and he did not fear to speak out against it. He indicated to his listeners that they should love the Indians as they loved themselves. While they did not do this he compared them to the sleeping disciples of Jesus and applied to them His teachings concerning publicans and harlots. He also considered that the Moors and the Turks were closer to the kingdom than that kind of people among his listeners.⁸⁴ This is a correct and courageous position for his day and the circumstances in which he lived. He correctly applied Job 36:3 to a repetition of his message in his second sermon.⁸⁵ Torrecilla lived in a time when slavery still existed on a racial basis. He indicated that the black person and the servant should be treated as members of the family.⁸⁶ In those days, both terms could be used to speak of one individual. His statement is still significant today, when there is so much suffering in the world.

Solutions for the Problem of Poverty. As noted above, whole sermons were preached on this subject. Almsgiving was the most common solution to this problem among these preachers.

Torrecilla recognized that a complete solution to this problem does not exist, considering the teachings of Jesus (Jn 12:8).⁸⁷ However, he also stated in that sermon that the most good possible should

⁸⁴de las Casas, I, 161.

⁸⁵Ibid., I, 163

⁸⁶Torrecilla, *Demostraciones Católicas*, I, 532.

⁸⁷Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 44.

be accomplished to help the poor.

Oglietti indicates that even though communism may offer a solution to this problem, it is not good enough, since it denies the Word of God and the spiritual blessings it has to offer.⁸⁸ Jesus' compassion in feeding the multitudes indicates that hunger and poverty are spiritual problems as well as economic problems. This is noticed in Pamio's second sermon.⁸⁹

The rich must recognize that if these are difficult times, it is partially due to the fact that this is so because less has been done for the poor than that which should have been done.⁹⁰

Generally, if great solutions are sought for the problem of poverty, they are not found in these sermons. However, those that are offered are significant. They include almsgiving, compassion and recognition that if hard times are upon Christians it is because of the oppression practiced by Christians upon the third world in the past. This was emphasized by Torrecilla at a time when Spain was lamenting the loss of its empire.⁹¹ The concern of the Early Church for its members was compared to the great collections taken among Christians of one country to help those of another nation.⁹² Pamio also indicated that a complete change in the way Christians treat the poor will bring as a result that people from the third world will accept Jesus.⁹³

⁸⁸Oglietti, p. 24.

⁸⁹Pamio, p. 336.

⁹⁰Torrecilla, *Ceremonias Sagradas*, I, 285.

⁹¹Ibid., I, 285, 286.

⁹²Pamio, p. 392.

⁹³Ibid., p. 346.

The closest that any one of these preachers comes to a practical solution to social problems is González. He indicates that those that invest in a factory may reap the benefits of their investment for a limited period. Later on the factory must be enjoyed by its workers who must be paid 1) a minimum decent wage; 2) a bonus according to their responsibilities within the factory, and 3) an additional bonus according to the success of the enterprise. He also indicates that the land must be worked following these principles with the owner of the land having the same privileges and responsibilities as the owner or manager of a factory. This means that both industry and agriculture may be worked by those who possess them, but not on an absentee basis. It also means that many laborers must enjoy privileges that approach those of the owners-managers.⁹⁴

These are solutions that indicate an application of the teachings of the Bible to present situations. This is the main role of hermeneutics.

VI. SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to consider the importance given to the Bible by Spanish preachers on social issues. Actually, each section could be considered important enough to be a chapter in itself. Because of this the summary will be rather brief, with the indication that the chapter should be considered as a whole, rather than in this summary.

Approximately ten times as many allusions were made to the

⁹⁴González, pp. 207-210.

Bible as to the Church Fathers. Most of the time the preachers made their own translations from the Vulgate. However, there are evidences that some also used the version of Scío de San Miguel. This was the first modern Spanish Catholic version of the Bible. There are also indications that Oglietti was acquainted with the version of Torres Amat.

All of these preachers considered the Bible to be normative. They considered its message to represent the Word of God. The duty of all humanity is to obey it as such.

In exegesis they used the system of proof texting. Basing themselves on the authority of the Bible they considered that anything that the Bible said represented that which must be done by their followers. They proved their points with the Bible. However, they not only took the texts out of their context, but made their translations of the text to fit their arguments. Some of them also added some of their own thoughts to the text.

All of them adapted the message of the Bible to their audiences. This hermeneutical principle has been considered indirectly in former chapters, in which the basic message of their sermons was presented. They were very clear on the solution to slavery. They also offered solutions to poverty. These include the traditional solutions of almsgiving and kindness toward the poor. They also lifted an accusing finger to those who oppressed others. Each of them indicated that the time in which they were preaching was the time to help the poor to the utmost of their abilities. Some practical solutions are presented just before the beginning of this summary.

CHAPTER XVI

MOTIVATION IN SOCIAL SERVICE

The purpose of this chapter can be considered to be a comparison between these sermons on social issues and Liberation Theology. These sermons antedated Liberation Theology. This makes it difficult to find a relationship between the two. Sometimes there may even be contradictions between them. This means that these sermons cannot always be considered to be the forefathers of Liberation Theology. However, the relationship between them is an interesting and meaningful topic, since both come from the same cultural background. This is to be considered in three manifestations: Methodology, Reflection and Motivation.

I. METHODOLOGY

The question to be considered here is a comparison of the method by which Liberation Theology came to existence with the one that was used in some of the sermons that have been considered above. The reliability of this method is also important. It could have been useful, it could have had hermeneutical value, but failed as a reflection of Biblical thought.

Liberation Theology. Both Protestant and Catholic theologians indicate that Liberation Theology is a theology of action. Reflection concerning the theological and philosophical basis of this action follows the action itself. Miguez Bonino, a Methodist theologian from

Argentina indicates that the theological phase comes after the act.¹ Dussell, a historian of this theology states that "we would have to start with our concrete situation in daily life and reflect on it theologically. It was this realization that helped to produce a truly Latin American approach to theology."² Gutiérrez, from Perú, who probably is its outstanding theologian affirms this principle. "In the first place, rather than define the world in relation to the religious phenomenon, it would seem that religion should be redefined in relation to the profane."³

To a certain degree all of this came as a result of the problems of the pastor. For centuries the Church identified itself with the rich and with those in power, while the majority of its members were the poor and the oppressed. The lower clergy heard their problems in the confessional. Independence did not bring all of the expected changes. A deeper conception of the function of the Church was needed.⁴ Its mission was to identify itself with the poor and the oppressed and to help them in their struggle. Years of Seminary training and of spiritual service to the poor reminded them of this need. Many of the lower clergy came from poor families. Ambition for position within the Church and the authority of those in position stopped them. Eventually,

¹José Míguez Bonino, *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), p. 61.

²Enrique Dussell, *History and the Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976), p. 141.

³Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973), p. 67.

⁴Juan Luis Segundo, *The Community Called Church* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973), p. 48.

some favored the oppressed. Reason and religion were on their side. World politics and different revolutions indicated the possibilities. Action was expedient. Deeper theological and philosophical reflection would come later. Thus, Liberation Theology was born.

Montesinos' Sermons. Four and a half centuries earlier Montesinos and his fellow friars faced a similar situation. They represented the lower clergy. Their superiors and the government favored oppression. They stood for the oppressed, for the Indians.

Montesinos' sermons represent a cause, but not too much of the theological reflection that supports that cause. He compared himself with John the Baptist as the voice that cried in the wilderness in favor of the Indians. Theologically he indicated that the obligation of Christians was to love the Indians as they loved themselves. In not doing this they were as lost as the Moors or the Turks.⁵ All of this is true, but it represents theological and social thinking that was unacceptable in those days. It faced the problem of discrimination directly. It used Matthew 21:31,32 that indicates that harlots and publicans will be saved before the Pharisees and the scribes.⁶ However, Montesinos did not use the texts related to slavery or to equality in the sight of God. He preached a very timely sermon. However, his action came before complete theological reflection.

In his second sermon he took Job 36:3 out of context and

⁵Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I (México: I-reneo Paz, 1877), 161.

⁶Ibid.

changed its wording even in Latin to accomodate his purpose.⁷ His message was very significant and true, but in this case once more action came before complete theological reflection.

Reliability of this Method. Montesinos accomplished his objective successfully. However, this could have been due to the ignorance of his listeners and the esteem of his authority over them. In the development of the new hermeneutic Thiselton comments on the weakness of forcing the text to say what we want it to say:

*The new hermeneutic is concerned above all with the "rights" of the text, as over against concepts which the interpreter himself may try to bring with him and impose on it. A "subject-object" scrutiny of the text which takes no account of man's linguisticality tends to tame and to domesticate the word of God, so that it merely echoes back the interpreter's own perspectives.*⁸

This weakness was found in Montesinos' preaching. This weakness is found in much of present day Liberation Theology. It is impossible to judge Montesinos by today's standards. However, certain rules must prevail as to what the text is actually saying and what we want it to say. At the same time, there is a time in which something must be said even though there has not been sufficient time for complete theological or philosophical reflection.

In all fairness, it must be recognized that Montesinos had much more basis for his arguments when he appeared before the king. The same is true with Liberation Theologians and their writings.

⁷Ibid., I, 163.

⁸A. C. Thiselton, "The New Hermeneutic," *New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods*, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), pp. 327, 328.

II. REFLECTION

In this section some of the statements of Liberation Theology will be compared with some of the positions expressed in these sermons. Liberation theologians do not always agree among themselves. This is understandable, since this is a label that serves all Latin American theologians who are opposed to oppression. Some favor force, others are opposed to force as a means of achieving liberation. This means that it is relatively easy to find some statements in which they agree even though there may be contradiction concerning the method to be used. Some contradictory positions will be considered first, and those of general agreement will be considered at the end of each subdivision.

Private Property. Not all Liberation theologians agree on this subject. A militant such as Miranda believes in this so strongly that he presents Biblical and Patristic evidence against private property.⁹ Gutiérrez attacks private property as a means of production. He does not claim to present this as his own idea, but as that of Bishop Méndez Arceo from Mexico. Means of production must be administered on a Socialistic basis.¹⁰ Pellín, in one of the sermons considered in this study indicated that neither Capitalism, Communism nor Socialism had the solution for the problems of this world. This was only in the hands of the Church.¹¹ Gutiérrez also limits his opposition to the

⁹José P. Miranda, *Marx and the Bible, A Critique of the Philosophy of Oppression* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1971), pp. 1-22.

¹⁰Gutiérrez, pp. 111, 112.

¹¹Jesús María Pellín, *Testimonio* (Caracas: Revista Lor, 1970), p. 295.

"private acquisition of excessive wealth,"¹² which is not an opposition to all private enterprise. John XXIII in *Mater et Magistra*, dated May 15, 1961¹³ defended the right to private property, "including that pertaining to goods devoted to productive enterprises."¹⁴ González also defended the right of people holding property, as long as they were the ones that worked it.¹⁵

This means that Miranda and Méndez Arceo differed from the official position of the Church. It also indicates that Pellín agreed with it. It also proves that there is disagreement between the preachers considered in this study and most radical elements in Liberation Theology. Even here, there is disagreement between moderates and radicals.

Work Ethics. Gutiérrez quotes the Archbishop of La Paz without naming him concerning the value of work. "Work is more important than property in the use of material goods."¹⁶ He also indicates the position that the working man should have concerning property and his wages. "Every system of property ought to be evaluated according to its ability to humanize life and the labor of the working man."¹⁷ In other

¹²Gutiérrez, p. 30.

¹³"*Mater et Magistra*," *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, IX (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 441.

¹⁴Joseph Gremillion, *The Gospel of Peace and Justice* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976), p. 166.

¹⁵Albino González Menéndez-Reigada, *Directrices Cristianas de Ordenación Social* (Madrid: Seminario de Problemas Hispanoamericanos, 1949), pp. 207-213, 236-250.

¹⁶Gutiérrez, p. 128.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

words, wages should be sufficient for the acquisition of the basic property needed by the laborer as his residence.

Torrecilla translated one of Lacordaire's sermons that faced this issue in the Nineteenth Century. In this sermon Lacordaire compared work with capital. He ascribed to work both the property of capital and of the production of property through virtue.¹⁸ Pellín also preached a sermon in which he outlined some valuable guidelines for the wages that should be paid to the laborer.¹⁹ González was also very specific on this issue.²⁰

Cardijn. Liberation Theology has found come of its inspiration in the writings of Cardijn. José Luis Segundo based himself on Cardijn's thought when he wrote on the evolution of labor.²¹ Pellín's sermon on Capitalism, Communism and Socialism was also based on his writings.²² This is an interesting coincidence.

Church and State. Gutiérrez indicates that the dominant groups have used the Church to defend their interests and maintain their privileged position. They are unhappy with the Church because it is in favor of the poor. These seem to favor the Church today, even though the most radical among them do not accept its doctrines.²³

¹⁸Jean Baptiste Henri Lacordaire, "El Capital según el Evangelio," *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Sermones Morales*, ed. Pedro María de Torrecilla, III (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1854), pp. 112-126.

¹⁹Pellín, p. 276.

²⁰González, p. 211.

²¹Segundo, pp. 122, 123.

²²Pellín, pp. 294-296.

²³Gutiérrez, p. 65.

It can also be said that the state was used by the Church to support its teachings and its institutions. Torrecilla preached a sermon for the opening of Congress at a time of public misfortunes.²⁴ He also preached a sermon in which he presented the solution suggested by the Church for the problem of immoderate riches and the growth of poverty.²⁵ These sermons indicate that the Church had influence on the government. In these sermons it tried to use it for the good. With this influence, it definitely shares the responsibility for the things that went wrong. It should also be noted that Pellín tried to influence the state in one of his sermons so that it would continue its support of an orphanage that was run by the Church.²⁶

The Unfinished Work of Creation. Both Liberation Theology and the preachers studied above indicate that man's task is to finish the work of creation. Basing himself on 2 Peter 3:4 Dom Helder indicates that God entrusted man with the mission of conquering nature and finishing the work of creation. He believes in the existence of God. He also believes that God has empowered man with the ability to finish this task. This would be done by mastering or domesticating the natural forces of the world.²⁷ Alves also indicated that man continues

²⁴Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Ceremonias Sagradas*, I (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1856), pp. 278-299.

²⁵Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 44-57.

²⁶Pellín, pp. 232-238.

²⁷Dom Hélder Camara, *Revolution through Peace*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 18, 22.

the work of creation.²⁸ Caso's speech half a century earlier had the same message. "The creation of the world has not come to its end. This is the fundamental reason for the existence of mankind."²⁹ A little later, in this same speech, he affirmed this position using John 5:17. "My Father still works, said Jesus. The virtuous work with Him."³⁰

Sin vs. Christianity. It is natural to contrast these two. This is seen in two of these persons.

Gutiérrez defines sin basing himself on Jesus' commandment to love our neighbors (Mk 12:31):

To sin is to refuse to love one's neighbors and, therefore, the Lord Himself. Sin -a breach of friendship with God and others- is according to the Bible the ultimate cause of poverty, injustice and the oppression in which men live.³¹

More than a century before this time Torrecilla had preached a sermon commenting on 1 John 4:8 in which he defined a Christian:

Applying this sublime sentence to Christianity, we can also say, "He who does not love, does not know Christianity, for Christianity is charity." Christianity ... is God in man, ... it is the action of God in humanity; thus it is charity itself, just as God is charity.³²

At first it could appear that there is no relationship between these statements. However, the first one indicates that sin is to refuse to love. The second one indicates that Christianity is love. This makes Christianity to be the antonym of sin. Both are related to love and to others. Through these they are related to God Himself. Christ

²⁹Antonio Caso, *Discursos a la Nación Mexicana* (México: Porrúa, 1922), p. 232.

³⁰Ibid., p. 234.

³¹Gutiérrez, p. 35.

³²Torrecilla, *Sermones Morales*, III, 98.

gives us victory over sin. He also makes us to be Christian. He makes us love God and love our fellowmen as He loved them.

Apart from Christ there is no Liberation. Alves, a Brazilian Liberation theologian indicates that Egypt offered more meat in the pots of its slaves if the slave continued being a slave.³³ He also indicates that the resurrection of Christ was the liberation of the Christian of antiquity. The resurrection is hope without history and history without hope.³⁴ Oglietti, applying some of these concepts on Argentine television to communism, indicates that communism offered the people bread, but forgot that man does not live by bread alone (Mt 4: 4).³⁵ Once more preaching parallels perfectly with what theology said of the way the Egyptians treated Israel.

The Need to Love Our Neighbors as Ourselves. Both Liberation Theology and the Spanish sermons considered in this study indicate that the basic principle of social service is this commandment (Mk 12:31). A few examples from both sources will suffice to indicate this.

The relationship between this commandment and "love" as the essential characteristic of God was seen above. José Luis Segundo emphasized this relationship. He indicated that "God is love." He not only gives something He owns, but He gives Himself. He did this to

³³Rubem A. Alves, *A Theology of Human Hope* (Washington: Corpus Books, 1969), p. 122.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 127, 128.

³⁵Héctor O. Oglietti, *El Evangelio sobre los Tejados*, (Buenos Aires: Producciones Argentinas de Televisión, 1966), p. 24.

give us the same kind of life that He has. If He loved us as much as He has actually loved us, we must love one another the same way He has loved us. The mystery of man and the mystery of God are understood in their human reflexions.³⁶

Gutiérrez uses the thinking of Bonhoeffer to indicate that freedom is a relationship. It is being free for others. He defines liberation as communion with God and with other men.³⁷ He also finds a relationship between the concepts found in Mark and in John.

Man is destined to total communion with God and to the fullest brotherhood with all men. ... To be saved is to reach the fullness of love. ... To abstain from serving is to refuse to love.³⁸

The need to love our neighbors in a specific way was manifested by many of the preachers that have been considered in this study. Montesinos applied it to the need of the Spaniards of Santo Domingo to treat the Indians decently. They also were rational human beings. They should love them as they loved themselves.³⁹

Torrecilla found a relationship between this commandment of Jesus and the epistles of John. However, he quoted 1 John 3:17 rather than 1 John 4. This is found in his first sermon on Almsgiving. He indicated that our love for our neighbor must not be an idle passion. It must be accompanied by specific action, the giving of alms. Not to do so is a result of a lack of love. Not to love others is a crime because it manifests an absence of love to God.⁴⁰ In the sermon on the

³⁶Segundo, pp. 26, 27, 35.

³⁷Gutiérrez, p. 36.

³⁸Ibid., p. 198.

³⁹de las Casas, I, 161.

⁴⁰Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Conferencias Catequistas*, III (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1857), 56.

social benefits that are produced by Christianity Torrecilla indicated that it was not only impossible to love God without loving mankind, it was also impossible to love mankind without loving God.⁴¹

Some of the shorter statements and relationships are also significant. Caso sees the commandment of love as an enthusiasm, a supreme act of persuasion.⁴² Ruiz Medrano, as Montesinos, sees in it a basis for the inspiration that led to the abolition of slavery. He indicated that only God is worthy of the service of mankind.⁴³

Pamio preached a sermon on the parable of the Good Samaritan. It begins with the commandment of Jesus to love one another (Lk 10:27). Pamio indicates that this agrees with the principle of universal fraternity and condemns all racial discrimination. We must help whoever is in need, not only in a temporal manner, but also emotionally and spiritually. The former is done by Marxism without the later. For this reason it is unacceptable to Christians. The brotherhood of men is confirmed because Christ has made us His brothers and sisters.⁴⁴

Liberty, the Picture of the Exodus. Liberation Theology uses the picture of the Exodus very often. It represents the struggle for liberty of the masses which is preached by this theology. Gutiérrez

⁴¹Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Demostraciones Católicas*, I (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1856), 535.

⁴²Caso, p. 241.

⁴³José Ruiz Medrano, *Una Voz de México* (México: Jus, 1962), pp. 107, 108.

⁴⁴Virgilio Pamio, *El Plan de la Salvación en la Meditación de los Evangelios Dominicales* (Buenos Aires: Guadalupe, 1968), pp. 393-395.

indicates that the figure of the Exodus is repeated often by the Old Testament prophets. Actually, redemption is also a story of liberation.⁴⁵ Alves speaks of humanistic liberation, where man tries to free himself. This could be considered to be a counterpart of scientific evolution that speaks of a world made by itself. Here reference is made to an experience of liberty developed by mankind without divine intervention. Alves indicates that Biblical history is opposed to this. The liberation of Israel from Egypt was humanly impossible. God's people did not free themselves. God freed them. In like manner God works in the liberation of mankind from the oppression that he is suffering. Liberation becomes an act that is beyond history. It is an act of God. Alves indicates that in the Old Testament God is not only a God that is or exists, but a God that acts.⁴⁶

Among the preachers considered in this study, Ruiz Medrano indicates clearly that liberty is a divine attribute. Christ came to free us from our inner slavery and from enslavement by others.⁴⁷

III. MOTIVATION

Both Liberation Theology and the preachers that have been considered in this study present reasons for treating the poor in a fair way. Directly or indirectly these reasons end in eschatology, both accomplished and future eschatology. Reference is made in this to punishments and rewards. In its own way, Marxism, a doctrine of secular liberation, has its own eschatology. It strives to have what it

⁴⁵Gutiérrez, pp. 155-159.

⁴⁶Alves, pp. 86-90.

⁴⁷Ruiz, pp. 105, 106.

considers to be the ideal society in the present world. It also has its own system of rewards and punishments.

Christian Duty. Dom Hélder Camara indicates clearly that sporadic charity is insufficient for the Christian. Misery should not be a problem in the American Continent.⁴⁸ This indicates clearly that he considered it to be a duty for Christians to manifest their love to others through charity simply because they are Christians. This does not mean only the gift of alms, but being fair with others. Montesinos also appealed to his audience more than four centuries earlier to be fair to the Indians because it was their obligation to love them.⁴⁹

Fear of Punishment. Liberation Theologians say very little about the need of doing right because otherwise there is danger of being punished. The disappearance of hell in their writings is very interesting. It is even more significant when it is considered that the most militant of them do not consider that it is necessary to wait for the eschaton to have the rich suffer the consequences of their not sharing their wealth with the poor. Through war and revolution they endeavor to bring about that punishment in the here and now.

Spanish preaching throughout the centuries has encouraged doing that which is right to avoid the inevitable punishment. This is what the Inquisition was all about. There was a definite punishment, even in the present, for disobedience.

The same happens with preaching on social issues. Torrecilla preached a whole sermon to congress indicating that the nation was

⁴⁸Hélder, pp. 3, 12.

⁴⁹de las Casas, I, 161.

being punished because of the way in which it had oppressed the colonies.⁵⁰ Reference is made in other sermons to the difficulty of being saved and oppressing others. Montesinos indicated that his listeners would not have any more probability of salvation than the Moors or the Turks if they did not treat the Indians kindly, rather than enslave them as they had been doing.⁵¹ García Mazo indicated that his listeners would be punished at the end of time if they did not give alms.⁵² Pamio indicated that eternal salvation is in play in riches.⁵³ He indicates with this that things can go either way. Jesus indicated that salvation is not as easy for the rich as for the poor.

Present Eschatology. Communism believes in what could be called present eschatology. It works for an utopia in the here and now. In many ways this goes hand in hand with some of the positions of Liberation Theology. The difference being that these see the Lord in history rather than seeing things from a purely materialistic point of view.⁵⁴ The objective is presented as a "liberation which leads to the creation of a new man in a new society of solidarity."⁵⁵ However, Liberation Theology is not the only one that works for a present eschatology. Throughout history the Church has identified itself with those in power, at least since power identified itself with Christianity. Those in power or wealth also seek for the Kingdom of Heaven in the present. They consider that they have their own reward here. Alves

⁵⁰Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Ceremonias Sagradas*, I (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1856), pp. 278-299.

⁵¹de las Casas, I, 161.

⁵²Canos, IV, 418, 419.

⁵³Pamio, p. 341. ⁵⁴Gutiérrez, pp. 136, 137. ⁵⁵Ibid., p. 235.

indicates that the reason for their difficulty in entering the kingdom is precisely this, that they want to have their own "now."⁵⁶ This means that Communism, Liberation Theology and wealthy Conservatives all have a materialistic point of view of eschatology. All of them consider their Kingdom to come now on this earth.

The Spanish preachers considered in this study do not speak too much about an eschaton in the present time. Pamio says something that could be interpreted like this, but he also has implications for the future. He indicates that helping the poor is the equivalent of recognizing Christ as King and Saviour.⁵⁷ Torrecilla does indicate that there are present blessings for helping the poor. However, he does not deny that his hope is in the future as he recognizes these present blessings. Commenting on Psalms 36:25 he indicates that he who gives to the poor is blessed in this life having his bread. A second blessing is stated as his being happy in this life. He indicates this in his comments on Psalm 40:1.⁵⁸

Future Eschatology. Liberation Theologians practically do not mention the future coming of Jesus. However, Gutiérrez recognizes that this will happen.⁵⁹ This makes for an interesting dualism in which they recognize a future kingdom while they emphasize the need of the equivalent of a present kingdom. Segundo recognizes that the Christian is living between two epiphanies. Helder Câmara probably presents the

⁵⁶Alves, p. 115.

⁵⁷Pamio, p. 346.

⁵⁸Torrecilla, *Conferencias Catequistas*, I, 59.

⁵⁹Gutiérrez, p. 230.

⁶⁰Segundo, p. 33.

most beautiful relationship of all between the present and the future liberations. He indicates that this begins in time, that is, in this experience, and is consummated in the second coming of Jesus. This will be the real commencement of liberation.⁶¹

This future eschatology was believed by all of the preachers considered above. Cuevas believed that a conscious experience of blessing would accompany the poor after death. This form of eschatology has not been considered in this study. It could be considered to be a form of personal eschatology. Cuevas begged his poor audience not to forget to pray for the rich that had helped them in this life. This was based on the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. Oglietti expressed his assurance in the second coming of Jesus. He presented it in relationship to his preaching on social issues. He indicated that if we are generous, some day we shall hear the voice of Jesus inviting us to enjoy the blessings of the kingdom that have been prepared since the foundation of the world.⁶³

IV. SUMMARY

Some comparisons were made in this chapter between Liberation Theology and the preaching of Spanish preachers on social issues. Most of these preachers antedated Liberation Theology. Their methodology, reflection and motivation were considered.

Methodology. Several Liberation Theologians indicated that it is their first duty to proclaim the message of liberation with

⁶¹Helder, p. 6. ⁶²Cuevas, p. 369. ⁶³Oglietti, p. 256.

theological and philosophical reflection coming later. More than four centuries before their time Montesinos used this method in his defense of the Indians against the enslavement that was being imposed upon them by the Spanish colonizers of Santo Domingo.

Reflection. Liberation theology and the sermons of these preachers were compared in nine different areas. Their greatest difference was in private property, an issue in which Liberation Theologians themselves do not agree completely among themselves or with their Church when they take the radical position that it should not exist at all. Basically it can be said that there is agreement in the other eight areas. One of the most interesting of these is that both consider creation to be an unfinished task. Another one is the parallel seen between liberation and the Exodus.

It is interesting to notice that Caso, a philosopher and educator, and not so much a preacher, considers creation to be an unfinished task. Dom Helder Câmara picked up this idea approximately fifty years later in Brazil. True freedom comes from God. It must not only be a concept, but a material reality.

The most important concept in which all agreed was that the basis for all of this is the commandment of Jesus to love our neighbors as ourselves. This should come as a result of the love we have for God. At the same time it is a result of the love God has for us.

Motivation. Liberation Theology indicates that the poor must be liberated from the oppression they suffer as part of the fulfillment of their Christian duty on the part of Christians in authority, power

and riches. It emphasizes the liberation that must be accomplished in this life. At the same time, it does not deny that ultimate liberation will come at the second coming of Jesus.

The preachers considered in this study emphasize the second coming of Jesus. They indicate that the ultimate punishment and reward will come at this time. However, they do not deny that it is a Christian duty to uplift those in need. They also present specific ways in which this must be done, even though they are not as radical as some Liberation Theologians.

PART IV
CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSION

This study has considered the relationship between Spanish preaching and social problems. Reference has been made in a special way to the problem of poverty and riches.

I. TENTATIVE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM

Narrowing this down even more, it can be stated that the purpose of this study was to consider the history of Spanish preaching on social problems. It was to consider the sermons that are available on these issues in Spanish and the results of this preaching.

Problems Faced in this Study

Theological Problems and Findings. Theology, as everything else, grows and develops with each generation. If this is true of theology in general, it applies even more to a relatively new field, such as that of the theology of social issues. The book that comes closest to presenting this theology is Gustavo Gutiérrez' treatise entitled *A Theology of Liberation*. Because of this, the first section of this study presented a consideration of the Biblical and Patristic writings on social issues. Some of these findings were also presented by Gutiérrez and the Spanish preachers considered in this study. Others were not considered in these sources.

The first significant finding is that there was a progressive development in the understanding of the responsibility of the more

fortunate towards those that suffer privations. The basic principles presented in the Ten Commandments were amplified in the Book of the Covenant. These were expounded in the Priestly Code. At the same time, these found their fullest expression in the Deuteronomic Law. In their efforts to enforce them, the prophets amplified them still further. One of the differences between the Christians and the Jews is that the former accepted some of the writings the later have accepted as Wisdom Literature as prophetic utterances. Both David and Daniel were accepted as prophets by the Christians (Ac 2:29,30; Mt 24:15). Statements from the Psalms were accepted as part of the Law (Jn 15:25). Wisdom literature, both canonical and extracanonical endeavored to improve the lot of the unfortunate. Jesus and the apostles continued in this tradition. One of the strongest arguments in favor of a clement treatment of the poor is that Jesus identified Himself with them. The same can be said of the Apostolic Church. Primitive Christianity favored the poor, both in word and deed, with the exception of Clement of Alexandria. During the Middle Ages the voice of the Church was not as clear on this issue, but Francis of Assisi and Isabel of Hungary both indicated the route to follow by their actions. During these last stages of development it cannot be said that there continued to be progressive revelation concerning this problem, but there was a manifestation of the practical application and an emphasis on that which was expected of Christians.

The second significant finding is that there were several specific ways in which the poor were to be helped. This was especially true in Old Testament times. These include lending money without interest, being fair in trials, permitting the poor to glean after the

harvesters and to harvest the product of the corners, permitting them to partake of the harvest of the Sabbatical Year, paying their wages daily before sunset, and others. Even in New Testament times, under the Romans, the poor were permitted to take that which they would eat on the spot without its being considered to be robbery. Another principle that was to be kept in New Testament times was that of treating the poor the same way in which the rich were treated in Church.

The third significant finding is that love is the basic principle that governs the relationship of the wealthy and the poor with each other. This is taught in all of the Bible.

The fourth significant finding is that compared to the world that surrounded them, God's people have been ahead of them in their treatment of the poor. This is true both in precept and in practice. While it is true that the Code of Hammurabi antedates the Mosaic Code, it is not as advanced as this one both in principles and in specific regulations. As time went on, the gulf became wider. This is seen in the way the Greeds treated their slaves compared to the way they were treated in the Jewish economy. The chasm became even wider comparing the Christian Church and the Roman Empire.

The fifth and final significant fact is that these aims should be achieved without violence on either side. Christians did not participate in revolts against Rome. Onesimus was returned to his master. Slavery would disappear without a revolution.

Historical Problems and Findings. Enrique Dussel is probably the only one who has endeavored to write a history of the Theology of Liberation. Both Gutiérrez and Dussel write on this subject and not on

social issues in general. They leave many things unsaid. This means that a theology on social issues or on specific phases of social issues has not been written in an exhaustive manner. Even less has a history of the preaching on these issues been written.

An even more serious problem is that the history of Spanish preaching has not been written. Félix Herrero Salgado and Miguel Herrero García have both prepared Bibliographies of Spanish sermons. These are in Spain, and not in this continent. They include only Catholic sermons. Over five thousand sermons are listed, none of which were available for this study.

There exists the urgent need of writing the history and bibliography of Spanish preaching in every country where this language is spoken, especially of Protestant preaching. Differently than with English, French or Portuguese, no Spanish country dominates the others politically, socially, culturally or economically. Those that exert greater influence are Argentina, Mexico and Spain. These are presented in alphabetical order and not in an order that manifests the relative importance of one country over the other. Even here, Colombia can claim a place almost equal to these three. Others would present their own claims. After a national history of preaching has been prepared for each country, the over all history will begin to emerge.

Another problem is that of denominational affiliation. Catholicism exerts a much greater influence in Spain than in the other countries. The same could also be true of Colombia. On the other hand, there have been many distinguished Protestants in Mexico and Argentina. This applies to both clergy and laity. This means that each

denomination should work on the national history of its own preaching. This is very important for the development of a complete history of Spanish preaching.

It should be noted that the Spanish language is very important for Christendom. Fully one half of the seven hundred million Catholics live in Latin America.¹ This makes Spanish to be the first language among Catholics. For most Protestant denominations Spanish is the second language as far as membership is concerned. Spanish and Portuguese are the languages of the majority of Christians of the third world. This emphasizes the importance of Spanish theology and Spanish preaching.

The findings of this study in Spanish preaching are also outstanding. It was to cover all preaching on social issues. It has been limited to Catholic sermons because these were the only ones that were found at the time of writing the results of this study. Protestant books and papers on the subject are available. Only one lecture has been discovered at the time of writing this conclusion, and this was not presented in churches in Latin America, but to the leadership of the World Council of Churches in Europe.² However, it must be based on sermons preached by this preacher in Argentina. On the other hand, thirty-two Spanish sermons by Catholics on social issues have been found, plus fourteen Catholic sermons translated from other languages. More than two thousand Spanish sermons have been found in this area.

¹"Priests or Social Workers?," *Newsweek*, 93:5:69, January 29, 1979.

²Néstor O. Miguez, "Solidarity with the Poor, a Test of Ecclesial Renewal," *The Ecumenical Review*, 31:3:261-272, July, 1979.

Tentative Solutions of the Main Problems Considered in this Study

The History of Spanish Preaching on Social Problems. The sermons on social issues considered in this study were preached in six countries: Argentina, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Spain and Venezuela. The first two were preached in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. The others were preached during the last two centuries. Most of these sermons were preached by members of the clergy. However, three were preached by laymen. This indicates that there was some interest in preaching on these issues in all of the Spanish speaking world throughout all of the centuries. It also means that it is no surprise that Liberation Theology was developed in an area that showed interest in this kind of problems since before the Reformation.

These sermons covered different phases of social issues including slavery, hunger, poverty wages and orphans. They attacked the socio-political solutions presented by the world including colonialism, capitalism, socialism and communism. At the same time they presented specific Christian solutions to the problem. More important, they indicated the Christian principles that should govern social action.

Results of this Preaching. It is not always easy to measure the direct results of preaching. However, concerning the first two sermons against slavery, it has been confirmed that they were influential in the thinking of Bartolomé de las Casas, since he himself has indicated this by preserving them for posterity. He also took these sermons seriously and made their content his life mission as protector of the Indians. These sermons were also influential in the formation

of the *Leyes de las Indias* that were proclaimed to protect them from the worse manifestations of slavery. They were also influential in the formulation of Papal pronouncements for their protection. The existence of the *mestizo* people indicates that Indians survived, which did not happen to that extent where it was believed that the only good Indian was the dead Indian.

It is not easy to indicate clearly the influence of the other sermons on Spanish life. However, the emergence of Liberation Theology as the expression of Latin American theology indicates that the preaching on these issues has not been absent in this part of the world. This preaching was at least a contributing factor. Actually, this is more meaningful to Liberation Theology than to other systems of theology. The object of preaching is action. Liberation Theology in practice has meant action before a complete reflection on the issues. There is no question of the reciprocal action of preaching and this type of theology.

Significant Solutions to Social Problems Suggested in these Sermons

These sermons have presented some solutions to the problems of humanity. The most significant ones are considered below.

Abolition of Slavery. This has been discussed above. The sermons of Montesinos advocated the abolition of Indian enslavement. Claver was the protector of Blacks in Colombia. He must have preached on their enslavement, even though his sermons were not available for this study. Ruiz Medrano preached on the One-hundred fiftieth Anniversary of the emancipation of all slaves in Mexico that took place in 1810.

Almsgiving. Liberation Theology does not consider almsgiving to be the proper solution to social problems. Helder indicated that sporadic charity or almsgiving is not enough.³ The preachers studied above have the same concept. However, there are times when the situation causes the pattern of giving to manifest changes. The preachers studied above as well as the Bible itself present the importance of almsgiving. It is a Biblical principle. García Mazo and Torrecilla preached about this in different occasions. Some of the most important principles presented were that the donations should not be presented in such a way that the poor would lose their dignity. It could be stated that this has been accomplished in our day by public relief from tax funds and the food stamp programs.

Church Control of Charity with Government Funds. The programs mentioned above are controlled by the state and not by the church. These preachers would oppose such a manifestation of charity. Public officials heard Ricaurte preach when the first stone was placed for a chapel in a hospital for the poor. Their presence indicates that they had participated in the funding of even this strictly religious structure of the hospital. Such a thing could be expected in Catholic Colombia during the first part of this century. The same is true in Pellín's sermon commemorating the Centenary of the foundation of the orphanatory in Caracas, Venezuela. He also expected the government to continue supporting this institution while its administration remained in the hands of the Church. The *National Review*, recognizing this

Dom Hélder Camara, *Revolution Through Peace* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 3.

tendency speaks of those clericists of *Cross Currents* who want a Neo-medieval church that is powerful. It indicates that a powerful church is dangerous and oppressive. It indicates that it eclipses the evangelical light of Christ.⁴

Factories in the Hands of their Laborers. Albino González Menéndez Reigada presented an interesting solution to social problems in a series of lectures in 1948. He was opposed to the idea of interest as a prolongation of the present system in which some remain rich without working while those who labor remain poor. He indicated that those who invested in a factory should not reap excessive amounts from their investments. He suggested that once the original machinery has served its purpose the factory must belong to those who labor in it. Once this is the case, laborers must be paid a decent basic wage with increases to those that hold more responsible jobs and additional earnings according to the efficiency of the enterprise.

Agrarian Reform. These preachers did not favor Agrarian Reform in the sense of having people lose their property indiscriminately to have it distributed among the poor. González had a plan which cannot be considered to be one of Agrarian Reform. It did include the distribution of land that was not worked if circumstances required it. He indicated that land should be administered using the same principle described above, in which laborers besides their wages would receive bonuses according to their position and the success of the enterprise.

⁴Dale Vree, "Putting on the Tiara," *National Review*, 31:13:424, March 30, 1979.

Private Property. As indicated above, these preachers by and large respected private property, including private property for production, even though they placed some limitations to this as it is known today. In this they followed the official position of their Church. In this they also differed with the extreme forms of Liberation Theology.⁵ At the same time, and also in accordance with the position of their Church, they also emphasized the need of a more equitable distribution of wealth among individuals as well as among nations.

II. CELAM AND LIBERATION THEOLOGY

It is impossible to talk about Spanish preaching on social issues without making reference to Liberation Theology. This has been done above and throughout this study. Likewise, it is impossible to talk about this without making reference to CELAM, the Latin-American Congress of Bishops.

Basic Historical Sketch of CELAM. CELAM was organized in Rio de Janeiro in 1955. This first meeting was inconsequential as far as Liberation Theology is concerned. The second conference was held in Medellín in 1968. Many declarations were made that indicated what was understood to be a commitment to Liberation in this Congress.⁶ The third conference was held in Puebla in 1979. The first Pope from a communist country was to open the session. All of this indicated a

⁵Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976), pp. 26, 27; José Miranda, *Marx and the Bible* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1971), pp. 1-33.

⁶Enrique Dussel, *History and the Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976), pp. 113-116.

great augur for the sake of the poor. The expectations were great.

What happened?

Preparation for CELAM III. However, there were great problems that could not make this meeting to be a continuation of the positions taken at Medellín.

The first problem was that during the decade between the two meetings of CELAM many declarations of Medellín had been misinterpreted. Many took those declarations as an acceptance of revolutionary activism. Christ was represented as a political activist against the Roman Empire and this was unacceptable.

The second problem was that Archbishop Alfonso López Trujillo became the new Secretary General of CELAM in 1972. He is a conservative prelate from Colombia. He did all that was within his power to assure that there would be a conservative majority and dominance in the meetings.⁷ The response from the liberal faction was to be expected, considering the presence of the Pope in the meetings.

The third problem for Liberation Theology in these meetings was that the theologians of this persuasion had a secondary place. They had to be satisfied presenting a low profile even before the meetings started,⁸ even though they were very active behind the scenes.

Realities and the Results of CELAM III. As was to be expected, the Pope had an euphoric reception. However, in twenty-eight speeches

⁷James R. Brockman, "Preparations for Puebla," *America*, 65:3:49, January 27, 1979.

⁸Dean Peerman, "Did the Pope Apply the Breaks at Puebla?" *Christian Century*, 96:7:203, February 28, 1979.

during this time, he never mentioned "Theology of Liberation" by name in public.⁹ It could be considered that this was done because of his opposition to a secular understanding of the Kingdom of God, which so often is held by these theologians. He was also opposed to the idea of entering the Kingdom of God through social and political involvement.¹⁰ When he landed in Santo Domingo he indicated clearly that the mission of the Church is that of evangelism and not that of politics,¹¹ even though this has not been the case in the past, and it would not necessarily be the case at this time. He did use the term "liberation," but not in the same way as it is used by the theologians of that persuasion. He spoke of liberation from sin and from the evil one, and of the joy of knowing God and being known by Him.¹² He even spoke of Atheistic humanism as being only half a liberation.¹³ This statement indicates what could be considered to be the proper perspective, making the relationship of the individual with God that which is of utmost importance in his life. It is considered that when he left Puebla and saw the misery of some of the people, he changed his tone. However, even then, in Monterrey, he declared himself against a militant program of liberation. He indicated that more rights are achieved by moral education than by agitation and revolution. He declared himself against violence, the interplay of power and political systems. He also

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Vree, *ibid.*

¹¹"The Pope and Theology of Liberation," *America*, 140:5:84, February 10, 1979.

¹²Vree, *ibid.*

¹³"John Paul vs. Liberation Theology," *Time* 113:7:68, February 12, 1979.

declared himself in favor of truth concerning the poor.¹⁴ Thus, while favoring the cause of the poor, he did not necessarily favor a revolutionary or militant position.

Statements Favoring the Position of Liberation Theology. It was at this time that John Paul II made the few statements favoring the positions of Liberation Theology.

One of the positions that he favored was that of expropriation or nationalization of properties. He indicated that there could be situations in which such a thing could be acceptable. This would be when this would be for the common good.¹⁵

His condemnation of social and economic inequities has been considered above. He condemned the greed of the wealthy and even offered himself as the conscience of the Indians. On the other hand, he opposed a system that would exploit the human person in order to achieve these ends. In this he included the oppression of poor countries by rich nations.¹⁶

Like González, he expressed himself against the rich that do not work their lands. He even made a statement in which he expressed his compassion of the plight of the illegal alien in the United States. He indicated that we cannot close our eyes to the plight of the millions that leave their lands and often even their families seeking work without any social security and earning miserable wages.¹⁷ This

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Peerman, p. 204.

¹⁶"The Pope and Theology of Liberation," pp. 84, 85.

¹⁷"John Paul vs. Liberation Theology," p. 69.

statement also finds its application to internal migrations from less to more prosperous regions of a country. This happens not only in Mexico, but also in Brazil and even in the United States.

Statements Opposed to some Vital Points that many Interpret as Manifestations of Liberation Theology. It must be emphasized that he made several declarations that could be interpreted as opposed to Liberation Theology. They are definitely opposed to its extreme positions.

He emphasized the value of each individual in the presence of God. The individual's value is lost sight of in the most extreme manifestations of Liberation Theology. They are lost in comparison to the cause. The Pope presented the individual as the most important being.¹⁸

The primary definition of liberation in his presentations was not liberation from economic or social oppression. He did not deny these, but he emphasized the need of spiritual liberation.¹⁹

In place of Liberation Theology he spoke of what he called Integral Theology. It includes both spiritual and economic privation experienced in the world.²⁰

Rather than expressing hatred toward the rich, he indicated that Christ's love includes the rich. Not only Christ's love, but the love of the Church must include them, since His love does not exclude anyone.²¹

His position against the Church being a strong political institution does not agree with the position of Ricaurte and Pellín, two of

¹⁸Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Vree, p. 424.

²¹Peerman, p. 204.

the preachers considered in this study. This does not apply to Liberation Theology.

By and large it can be said that the Pope's position is very reasonable. He upheld the ideal of helping the poor while not denying Christ's love to the rich. He considered himself to be the advocate of those in need without expressing a resort to violence as the way of achieving this aim. He tries to achieve his goals through education, love and conversion, rather than through ignorance, hatred and obstinacy. This can be considered to be the position of those in the center of Liberation Theology, but not of the extreme revolutionaries.

A similar statement can be made concerning the majority of the preachers considered in this study. However, some extreme positions are also manifested. At the same time, most of them advocate a change in the situation through education, love and conversion. Montesinos added to this a change in the laws favoring the oppressors.

III. SUBJECTS FOR FUTURE CONSIDERATION

All research uncovers areas that cannot be pursued because of the limitation of the scope of that particular project. This is even more evident in a field that has been practically untouched, such as theology and preaching in the Spanish world. Many areas require attention. These have not been considered in the past, or at best, have been considered only in a limited way.

Importance of the Spanish Language

Spanish has taken a second place when compared to English in

the field of theology. To a certain extent this can be understood, considering that Spanish speaking countries have been "mission fields" for Christians from Protestant English speaking countries. However, Spanish has had a place much below French and German as well as English. It probably has even followed other languages.

Strength of Spanish Christianity. It should always be remembered that there are more Spanish speaking Catholics than those who speak any other language. Together with those who speak Portuguese, a language that is very similar to Spanish, more than 50% of the members of this church could be accounted for throughout the world.

For most Protestant denominations, Spanish is the second language as far as membership is concerned. Together with Portuguese, more than 50% of the world membership of some denominations could fall in such a category.

Projects to be Pursued. Since this is the case, many projects should be pursued to bring a proper perspective of the work of this important segment of Christianity. The following is a partial list that represents a good beginning of general projects to be studied:

1. Every denomination must write its own history in each country. Even if this is done at a popular level, it should develop archives and present sources in its Bibliography for future research.
2. The same should be done with preaching. Old denominational magazines must have some sermons from the past. These must be deposited in archives for future research. Collections of these sermons must be published for devotional and historical interest.

3. Other serious theological articles should be kept so that they can also be perused in se rch of indigenous theological concepts.

4. Eventually, the most important aspects of that which was presented above should be brought together for regional studies and eventually for considerations of the contribution of Spanish theology and Spanish preaching to the Church as a whole.

Specific Subjects for Future Research. Besides these general projects there are specific subjects that must be pursued further. The following list is only presented in numerical order, but this does not represent an order of priorities or importance of these subjects:

1. Spanish preaching on social issues. The subject considered in this study must be considered further at the national and regional levels. More than two thousand sermons in Spanish have been available for this study. Forty-three of these addressed social issues. However, all of them are Catholic sermons. Many more have been preached and should be considered in a more complete consideration of the problem.

2. Spanish versions of the Bible. More than fifty versions of the Bible exist in Spanish. These are both of Protestant and Catholic origin. Brief popular treatises have been written on this subject. However, a well documented scholarly work is needed. It should not only include the historical, but also the technical problems of translation in general and of each version in particular.

3. History of Spanish preaching. As noted in this study, two short treatises have been prepared on this subject. They represent a higher level of scholarship than those on Spanish versions of the Bible. However, almost all of the work on this field remains to be done.

4. Spanish preaching on different subjects. This study has endeavored to consider Spanish preaching on social issues. Other subjects remain to be considered such as Spanish preaching on ethics, on soteriology, on eschatology, etc. The two thousand sermons considered in this study could serve as a beginning for this kind of research.

5. The use of Hebrew, Greek and Latin in Spanish literature and in Spanish preaching. Much Hebrew was used in the Sixteenth Century. Greek was also used, but to a lesser extent. What does this mean? What significance does this have for today's preaching? Considering that the Bible was not available in Spanish, Why quote the original?

6. The Bible in Spanish literature. This is another interesting subject for further research. Long passages of the Bible were quoted in some of the literary works of the Golden Century of Spanish Literature. It would seem that this was the way in which some wanted to share the Bible at that time. The scope of these quotations as well as their accuracy should be considered in the near future.

7. The Bible in Spanish preaching. This has been considered in this study in relationship to social issues. Other sermons quoted other texts from the Bible. As with Spanish literature, the scope and the accuracy of these quotations, as well as their relationship to the versions of the Bible in Spanish must be investigated.

8. Theological problems in the Spanish world. Liberation Theology has been touched in this study. It must be considered more fully. Just as in preaching, other issues must be considered in the field of theology. Very little, if any, work has been done in this field in Spanish.

IV. FINAL STATEMENT

As this is written, Pope John Paul II is touring the United States. Actually, he has made more statements on the themes of Liberation Theology here than in Mexico. This may be proper, considering the means of this country to help the poor of the world. His statements, however, have been even closer to those of the preachers considered in this study. One of the most significant is that the poor must be helped not only from our abundance, but also from our sustenance. However, this must come from a loving and willing heart, since he emphasized the value of the individual with God. He has also emphasized the importance of justice, liberty and peace. Should all of these objectives be achieved, together with the objective of human dignity and inspiration for labor and service, many of the aims of this study will be achieved.

Actually, the purpose of this study will be accomplished if 1) a deeper interest in the relationship of social issues and Spanish theology and preaching has been awakened; 2) an interest in Spanish theology and preaching has been fostered; and 3) in this manner the development of God's kingdom in the Spanish world and in all of the earth has been advanced, both in its present and in its final manifestations.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE SERMONS OF ANTON DE MONTESINOS

Fr. Antón de Montesinos was a Spaniard in Santo Domingo during the early days in which the country was settled. He belonged to the Dominican order. These two sermons were preached in that city in December of 1511. Bartolomé de las Casas was so influenced by them that he preserved their text.

I. FIRST SERMON

*Spanish Text*¹

Bible Text: "*Ego vox clamantis in deserto*" (Luke 3:4).

Para os los dar a cognoscer me he subido aquí, yo que soy la voz de Cristo en el desierto de esta isla, y por tanto, conviene que, con atención, no cualquiera, sino con todo vuestro corazón y con todos vuestros sentidos la oigais; la cual voz os será la más nueva que nunca oisteis, la más áspera y dura y más espantable y peligrosa que jamás no pensasteis oír. ...

Esta voz, ... que todos estáis en pecado mortal y en él vivís y morís, por la crueldad y tiranía que usáis con estas inocentes gentes. Decid, ¿con qué derecho y con qué justicia teneis en tan cruel y horrible servidumbre a aquestos indios? ¿Con que autoridad habeis hecho tan detestables guerras a estas gentes que estaban en sus tierras mansos y pacíficos, donde tan infinitas dellas, con muertes y estragos nunca oídos, habeis consumido? ¿Cómo los teneis tan opresos y fatigados, sin dalles de comer ni curallos en sus enfermedades, que de los excesivos trabajos que les daís incurren y se os mueren, y por mejor decir los matais, por sacar y adquirir oro cada día? ¿Y qué cuidado teneis de quien los doctrina, y conozcan a su Dios y Criador, sean bautizados, oigan misa, guarden las fiestas y domingos? ¿Estos, no son hombres? ¿No tienen ánimos racionales? ¿No sois obligados a amarlos como a vosotros mismos (Mr 12:31)? ¿Esto no entendis, esto no sentís? ¿Cómo

¹Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, I (México: I-reneo Paz, 1877), 161.

estáis en tanta profundidad, de sueño tan letárgico dormidos (c.f. Mt 26:40; Lc 9:32; 22:45)? Tened por cierto, que en el estado que estais no os podeis más salvar, que los moros o turcos que carecen y no quieren la fe de Jesucristo (c.f. Mt 21:31,32).

English Version²

I have come up here in order to make you realize this message. I, who am the voice of Christ upon the desert of this island. Because of this it is important that with all of your heart and with all of your mind you may hear it. This voice shall be the most recent, harshest, most awesome and dangerous that you have ever believed you would hear.

This voice, ... that you are all in mortal sin, in which you live and die because of the cruelty that you use against these innocent people. Tell me, By what right and justice do you hold these Indians in such a cruel and horrible servitude? With what authority have you waged such cruel wars against these people who were living so peacefully in their own lands, where with unheard sufferings and death you have treated them? How can you work them so hard without feeding them and healing them in their illnesses? You actually kill them in order to acquire gold every day by means of the excessive work you impose upon them. How much do you care about those that indoctrinate them in order that they may know God their Creator, be baptized, hear mass, keep the feasts and Sundays? Are they not human? Do they not have rational souls? Are you not under obligation to love them as you love yourselves (Mk 12:31)? Do you not understand this? Do you not feel this? How is it possible that you can be so deeply asleep? (c.f. Mt 26:40; Lk 9:32; 22:45). Rest assured that in this condition you have no more hope of being saved than the Turks or Moors who lack and do not desire the faith of Jesus Christ (c.f. Mt 21:31,32).

II. SECOND SERMON

This sermon was preached the following Sunday. During the week the Spanish community had complained to the Governor and demanded that Montesinos recant from his adamant position. Diego Colón talked with and promised them that he would preach on the same subject. Montesinos

²In all of these sermons the English text as well as the Biblical references in parenthesis, except when the chapter is indicated in Roman numerals, are the work of this investigator.

studied the Scriptures together with his fellow friars during the week. Bartolomé de las Casas preserved only the gist of this sermon.³

Spanish Text⁴

Bible Text: "*Repetam scientiam meam a principio, et operatorem meum probabo iustum*" (Job 36:3).

Tornaré a referir desde el principio mi sciencia y verdad, que el domingo pasado os prediqué, y aquellas mis palabras que así os amargaron, mostraré ser verdaderas. ...

Tuviesen por cierto no poderse salvar en aquel estado; que con tiempo se remediasen, ... escribid a cualquiera en Castilla. ... Nosotros servimos a Dios y al Rey.

English Version

I shall refer once more to my science and my truth as presented from the beginning, such as I preached it last Sunday. I shall prove that the words that hurt you so much are indeed truthful. ...

They (the Spaniards) must rest assured that they can not be saved in this condition. This can not be changed by itself in the course of time, ... You may write to whosoever you may want to write in Castilla. ... We serve God and the King.

³Casas, pp. 161-163.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 163.

APPENDIX B

THE SERMON OF SANTIAGO JOSE GARCIA MAZO ON ALMSGIVING

The following sermon was preached in Spain but published in Paris and Mexico City in 1855. Evidently, unstable conditions in Spain did not permit a work such as this to be done in this country.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SANTIAGO JOSE GARCIA MAZO

Santiago José García Mazo (1768-1849) studied both theology and philosophy at Salamanca. In 1796 he was ordained to the priesthood. In 1822 he acquired by opposition the canonical magistracy of Valladolid.¹ Even though the date in which he preached the following sermon is unknown, it must have been preached between this date and 1849.

II. SPAIN, 1790-1850

Towards 1800 Spain seemed to still be very prosperous. Shipments of precious metals were still arriving from the colonies. At the turn of the century there was more wheat and at better prices than at any time since the sixteenth century.²

However, all of this was but a hollow shell. Spain was relatively primitive at that time when compared with the rest of Europe. It was underpopulated because of emigration to the colonies and almost

¹"García Mazo, Santiago José," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* (1958), XXV, 811.

²Raymond Carr, *Spain: 1808-1939* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 22,23,31,35.

illiterate.³ Between 1808 and 1812 it was ruled by Joseph Bonaparte.⁴ After gaining its independence Spain had a succession of governments, alternating between the Liberals and the Conservatives. There have been so many civil wars that one historian does not call them by that name at all. He considers the country to have been under a continuous civil war between 1812 and 1945.⁵ Besides this, Spain experienced the loss of its colonies by 1825. In 1829 its foreign trade was one third of what it had been in 1785.⁶ The next year the crown was bankrupt and the country experienced almost complete anarchy.⁷

During the lifetime of García Mazo there were six changes of power. Still, in spite of all of these problems, he preached this sermon on almsgiving.

III. TEXT OF THE SERMON

*Spanish Text*⁸

Apenas se hallará en los libros santos cosa mas recomendada que la limosna, mandándola en unas partes y aconsejándola en otras. "Lo que os sobra," dice el Evangelista San Lucas, "dadlo en limosna" (Lc 11:41). "Vended lo que poseéis," dice el mismo Evangelista, "y dad limosna. Haced bolsillos que nos se envejecen. Haced un tesoro en los cielos, adonde no se acerca el ladrón, ni roe lo polilla" (Lc 12:33). "Pon tu tesoro," dice el Eclesiástico, "en los preceptos del Altísimo, y te aprovechará mas que el oro. Encierra la limosna en el corazón del

³A. Ramos Oliveira, *Politics, Economics and Men of Modern Spain, 1808-1946* (London: V. Gallancz Ltd., 1946), p. 19.

⁴Ricardo Vera Tornell, *Historia de la Civilización* (Barcelona: Editorial Ramón Sopena, S. A., 1958), II, 241-42.

⁵Ramos Oliveira, p. 46. ⁶Carr, p. 35. ⁷*Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁸Santiago José García Mazo, "Sermón sobre la Limosna," *Biblioteca de Predicadores*, ed., Vicente Canos, IV (México: Vicente Salva, 1855), 408-419.

pobre, y ella rogará por ti para librarte de todo mal. Mas que escudo de poderoso y mas que lanza peleará contra tu enemigo" (Ecc. 29:14-16). "Al fuego que arde, apaga el agua, y a los pecados resiste la limosna" (Ecc. 3:33). "Sé de animo generoso con el humilde, y para hacerle limosna, no le des largas" (Ecc. 29:11). "No defraudes la limosna del pobre y no retires de el tus ojos. No desprecies el alma hambrienta, y no exasperes al pobre en su necesidad. No aflijas el corazón del desvalido, y no dilates dar al angustiado. No atrojes el ruego del atribulado, y no apartes tu rostro del necesitado. No retires tus ojos del menesteroso, porque te molesta, y no des ocasión a los que te buscan para que te maldigan por detrás; porque oída será la plegaria del que te maldijere en la amargura de su alma, y le atenderá aquel que le hizo. Inclina al pobre tu oído sin desdén, paga tu deber y respóndele cosas apacibles con mansedumbre. Muéstrate afable a la congregación de los pobres" (Ecc. 4:1-6,8,7). ... No es la introducción de un sermón el anchuroso campo que se necesitaría para referir la multitud de textos que se hallan en los demás libros santos, ya recomendando y ya mandando hacer limosna; y por otra parte es preciso ... saber cuando dar limosna es un consejo y cuando es un precepto.

Para esto es necesario distinguir tres clases de bienes y tres clases de necesidades. Hay unos bienes que son necesarios para la vida, otros que lo son para la decencia del estado y otros que son superfluos. También hay unas necesidades comunes como las que padecen los pobres que piden por Dios de puerta en puerta, otras graves, como las que ponen en peligro de enfermar o padecer gravemente; y otras extremas, como las que llevan a peligro de muerte. De los bienes necesarios para la vida, nadie tiene obligación de dar limosna. De los necesarios para la decencia del estado, se deben socorrer las necesidades extremas, y aun las graves. De los superfluos, se deben socorrer todas las necesidades, de tal suerte que los bienes superfluos sean de los pobres y de la piedad, que los ofrezca en culto soberano al Padre de los pobres. ... Mi objeto en este día es rebatir y aniquilar las excusas que se dan para no hacer limosna.

¡O mis queridos pobres! Pedid al Padre de los pobres que me llene de celo y de acierto para hacer bien vuestra causa. Y vosotros los que no sois pobres por una generosidad de la Divina Providencia, pedid al Señor que os haga generosos para con vuestros hermanos los pobres. ...

QUOD SUPEREST ...

Tantos pretextos han allegado los hombres inhumanos para no dar limosna, ... que han llegado a persuadir a muchos que no hay bienes superfluos en el mundo, y por consiguiente que nunca es de precepto dar limosna. Esta perversa doctrina fue admitida por algunos Autores, que ... apenas se hallarán ... en los reyes; bienes superfluos, ... así que apenas nadie está obligado a la limosna, cuando lo está de lo superfluo. ... Ricos del mundo, hay bienes superfluos, y vosotros los teneis por mas que trateis de excusaros. Sentada esta verdad, yo pregunto con San

Basilio, ¿porqué, hombre acaudalado, vives tú anegado en la abundancia, mientras que tu pobre hermano sufre y pena sepultado en la pobreza? ... Entiende, rico engañado, entiende, que en su Divina Providencia, ... Su intento, en esta distribución desigual, no ha sido preferir el rico al pobre, sino santificar al pobre y al rico. Quiere santificar al rico con la caridad y al pobre con la humildad; al rico con la liberalidad y al pobre con el agradecimiento; al rico con la limosna que deposita en el seno del pobre, y al pobre con la conformidad con que sufre resignado su pobreza. ...

Si consultamos al mundo, un rico es un hombre para quien se han destinado ... todos los placeres y todas las conveniencias del mundo. ... Setún la voluntad de Dios, ¿qué viene a ser un hombre rico? ... Un rico es el amparo del pobre ... destinado por Dios a remediar necesidades, a enjugar lágrimas y a hacer felices a otros hombres. ... Hombre acomodado, exclama aquí San Juan Crisóstomo, hombre acomodado, sábetete que si el Señor ha derramado en tu casa las riquezas, no ha sido para que te entregues al mezquino placer de regalarte con ellas, sino para que tengas el dulce consuelo, y el mérito singular de hacer limosna, repartiéndolas. ...

Pero ya oigo a los ricos decir: según eso, nuestras riquezas mas bien son temibles que apetecibles. ... Al mismo tiempo oigo que se quejan los pobres preguntando: y ¿por qué ha dejado el Señor nuestro sustento al cuidado de ese rico altivo y desdeñoso; ... porque siempre son mas sus vicios que sus bienes? ¡Ay pobres desamparados, y amados de mi alma! Mi corazón ... es quien primero os responde, y en seguida mi lengua ... os dirige también palabras de consuelo. ... Siendo Dios el Gobernador del universo, es indispensable ... que nos sujetemos rendidamente al imperio de sus leyes. ... No, hijos míos, no añadais a vuestra pobreza la desgracia de no conformaros con ella. ... La voluntad de Dios no ha sido molestaros, sino probaros y santificaros. Acordaos que el mismo hijo de Dios escogió para sí ese estado de pobreza que ha destinado para vosotros. ... Si sabeis conformaros con vuestra pobreza, y hacer buen uso de vuestro estado, sentiriais infinito no haber sido pobres; y que esa misma pobreza, que no queriais tener en la tierra, la bendeciréis eternamente en el cielo.

Y a vosotros ricos ¿qué os diré? ¿No es verdad que el precepto de dar limosna se ha establecido para ... vuestro bien? ¿No podía el Señor sin vosotros mantener y consolar a sus pobres? ¿No mantiene a la hormiga que no siembra (Pr 6:6-8; 30:25?), y viste al lirio que no hila (Mt 6:28)? ¡Tristes de vosotros, ricos, si el Señor no os hubiera dejado en la limosna un caudal para redimir vuestros pecados! Porque ... ¿Quién ponderará los vicios a que generalmente exponen las riquezas? ¿Qué ociosidad no las acompaña? ¿Qué profanidad no engendran? ... Pues, ahora, para resistir a esa multitud de vicios que inspiran las riquezas, ¿no se necesita un asombro de gracia? ... Si las riquezas no facilitasen por medio de la limosna esas gracias que resisten a los vicios, y esa misericordia que los perdona; en tal caso las riquezas serían un don perjudicialísimo. ... Pero el Señor, piadoso siempre

para con los hijos de los hombres, ha preparado la triaca en el veneno, y la ha formado del veneno mismo. Las mismas riquezas, que por sí provocan a tantos vicios, distribuidas en limosnas, contribuyen a desterrarlos, y a conseguir las virtudes. ... Depositad una buena parte de vuestros bienes en el seno del pobre, como os lo aconseja un Profeta (Is 58:7?), y ya os diré con San Lucas, que en premio conseguiréis un espíritu de verdadera penitencia para purificaros de todas vuestras culpas (Lc 11:41).

Pero yo me estoy fatigando en vano, porque ninguno os teneis por rico; ... Teneis mucho, ... pero pensais que debeis tener mas; ... Decis ... que vosotros no teneis mas que lo preciso ... pero me habeis de permitir que os pregunte ¿y esas modas tan costosas que gastais? ... ¿y esos muebles tan brillantes? ... ¿Es todo eso preciso? ... Solo cuando se ha de hacer limosna, no hay mas que lo preciso; en cualquiera otra ocasión o tiempo, todo es abundancia. ... Todo ha de ser de rico, ... y nada sentiriais mas que el que no os tuviesen por tales, o que os tratasen de pobres; pero llegue la voz del pobre a vuestros oídos, y luego desaparece esa casa abundante. ... Vosotros solo sois pobres cuando se ofrece la ocasión de socorrer, y siempre sois ricos cuando se trata de ostentar y lucir. ... Para librar una doncella virtuosa de los riesgos en que su pobreza pone a su honestidad, no habrá quien ofrezca un maravedí, y no faltará acaso alguno entre vosotros tan indigno que ofrezca a esa misma doncella ... no me atrevo a profesarlo. ... ¡A qué extremo de relajación debe hallarse reducido el mundo, cuando se encuentran en él escándalos que la modestia no permite reprenderlos, ni aun expresarlos!

Católicos, no hay que engañarse. No digais que no dais limosna porque sólo teneis lo preciso y nada os sobra. Decid, que nada os sobra y sólo teneis lo preciso, porque son tantas nuestras pasiones que todo lo consumen. ... No penseis que engañais a Dios. ¿Pero qué digo? ... ni a los hombres lograis engañar. ... Si en lugar de las pasiones reinara en vuestro corazón la caridad, presto tendriais para dar, y para dar con abundancia; porque, como observa San Agustín: así como las pasiones nunca tienen lo bastante, por el contrario, a la caridad siempre sobra.

Pero es preciso, decís, que sostengamos la decencia de nuestra clase y estado, y para sostenerla son necesarios todos esos gastos. Confieso, Católicos, que la religión y la república requieren que haya distinción de clases y estados. ... Así vemos que Ester pisaba en el retiro de su aposento la corona que ceñía al presentarse en público. ... La verdadera decencia de clase y estado en un cristiano sólo puede ser una decencia verdaderamente cristiana, porque no hay clase ni estado en que sea lícito al cristiano no vivir como cristiano. ... Hay que separar de la decencia de clase y estado todo aquello que se opone al espíritu del ... Evangelio Santo que siempre está predicando modestia, sencillez y templanza.

Reducida la decencia de clase y estado a una decencia cristiana, ¿serán necesarios para sostenerla todos esos gastos que vosotros

apadrináis, y que reprueba el Evangelio? ... Vosotros solos sois quien decis que vuestra clase y estado pide esos vestidos. ... Preséntese sino un hombre rico y limosnero en un traje verdaderamente modesto, y vereis que todos aplauden la sencillez de aquel traje, al paso que reprueban y maldicen ese lujo que gastáis, y que consume hasta los bienes de los pobres. ... La condición y la verdadera decencia solo se sostienen bien con la modestia y la limosna.

Pero nosotros, añadís, debemos vivir con prevención. Lo que hoy parece superfluo, mañana podrá ser necesario. Para desvanecer este pretesto, bastaría decir, que Dios sólo permite la prevención, al paso que manda la limosna, y que primero es lo mandado que lo permitido. ... ¿No manda también nuestro Padre celestial que esperemos los bienes temporales de aquella mano fecunda que engalana las flores con mas vivos y variados matices que los que adornan las púrpuras reales (Mt 6:28,29)? ... A pretexto de vivir con prevención, faltais a la confianza en el Señor, le hacéis dos injurias a un tiempo: una despreciando sus promesas, y otra no cumpliendo con el precepto de la limosna. ... Pero lo singular de esta excusa es, que sólo cuando se ha de hacer limosna os acordáis que es necesario vivir con prevención. ... Es guardar economía, dice San Agustín, sólo en las limosnas.

Pero tenemos muchos hijos que mantener y colocar. Por lo mismo teneis necesidad de una particular asistencia del cielo, y es preciso hacer mas limosnas para conseguirla. Es necesario aumentar el gasto espiritual igualmente que el corporal. Así lo hacía el santo Job, ofreciendo a Dios tantos sacrificios, cuantos eran sus hijos (Job 1:5). Además debeis contar en el número de vuestra familia a Jesucristo y darle su parte por mano de los pobres. Debeis contar también en este número a vuestra alma y darla su porción en sacrificios y limosnas. ...

Están los tiempos muy malos, decis, y por eso no podemos dar limosna. No dáis limosna, os contesta yo, y por eso están los tiempos muy malos. ... Si la viuda de Sarepta hubiera hecho lo que vosotros, ella y sus hijos habrían perecido. No tenía más que un poco de aceite y harina. Diólo en limosna, y desde entonces nada la faltó, aun cuando todo el país era desolado por el hambre (1 Ry 17:9-16). Tobías ciego y sin mas subsistencia que la tercera parte del jornal de una tejedora, por haber dado todos sus cuantiosos bienes a los pobres, no solo muere en la abundancia, sino que trasmite la abundancia a sus hijos y nietos, y a los nietos de sus nietos (Tb 2:2; 4:7-11; 14:14). ...

Ha de venir un día en que aquel Dios que juzga las justicias, juzgará también la causa de los pobres, y patentizará la falsedad de vuestras excusas. ¿Y qué le responderéis entonces? ... Pues veisme aquí sentado en este soberano tribunal para ampararlos, y también para vengarlos de vuestra dureza y desprecio (Mt 25:34-46). ...

Yo me estremezco cuando considero que en aquel día espantoso ... no hará mención de tantos y tan horrendos delitos ... y sólo echará en cara a los réprobos el pecado de la dureza con los pobres. ... Yo

me asombro al considerar que tampoco hará mención de tantas y tan heroicas virtudes como presentaran allí los justos que ha habido desde Abel, ... y que solamente alabará en ellos la virtud de la limosna. ...

Dios amable, Dios piadoso, Padre tierno y compasivo, concedenos una entrañas llenas de misericordia para con los pobres, y un corazón compasivo y limosnero, para que después de haber repartido con ellos nuestros bienes en esta vida, merezcamos oír de vuestra divina boca en la otra estas dulcísimas palabras: venid, benditos de mi Padre, porque tuve hambre, y me disteis de comer; tuve sed, y me disteis de beber; estuve desnudo, y me vestisteis. ... Venid a poseer el reino que os está preparado en el Cielo desde el principio del mundo (Mt 25: 34-36,34); y venid a poseerle por todos los siglos de los siglos. Amén.

English Version

You can hardly find anything that is more recommended in the Holy books than almsgiving. It is commanded in some sections and recommended in others (Lk 11:41; 12:33; Ecc 29:14-16; 3:33; 29:11; 4:1-6, 8,7).⁹ ... The introduction to a sermon is not the wide field that would be needed to present the many texts that are found in the other holy books, either recommending or commanding almsgiving. On the other hand it is necessary ... to know when almsgiving is a recommendation and when it is a precept.

For this it is necessary to distinguish between three classes of goods and three classes of needs. Some goods are necessary for life, others for class decency and still others that are superfluous. There are also common needs, like those suffered by the poor who beg from door to door in God's name, others are serious, like those that endanger the suffering of illness or serious problems; others that are extreme, such as those that carry with them the possibility of death. No one is under obligation of almsgiving from the goods that are needed to support life. Extreme needs must be met out of goods that are needed for the decency of class, even those that are more important. All needs must be met out of superfluous goods. It can be said that these belong to the poor and to piety and must be offered in divine worship to the Father of the poor. ... My objective today is to refute and to crush all excuses that are offered against almsgiving.

Dear poor! Pray to the God of the poor that He may fill me with fervour and dexterity to do good to your cause. Those of you who are not poor pray for generosity from Divine Providence. Pray that the Lord may make you generous with your brethren, the poor.

⁹Bible texts are quoted in full as quoted by the preachers so that the reader may compare them with Spanish versions of the Bible. They are translated in the English version only if relevant.

QUOD SUPEREST ...

Inhuman men have presented so many excuses for not giving alms. ... They have been able to convince many that there are no superfluous goods in the world; and that therefore almsgiving is not a command. This wicked doctrine was accepted by several authors, indicating that ... among royalty, scarcely superfluous goods be found, ... thus practically no one is under obligation to give alms, if these are to be given from superfluous goods. ... Rich of the world, there are superfluous goods, and even though you try to excuse yourselves, you have them. Having established this truth, I ask with St. Basil, Why, oh rich, do you live flooded by such abundance while your poor brother suffers buried in poverty? ... Understand, deluded rich man, understand, that in His Divine Providence ... He has not intended by this unequal distribution to prefer the rich over the poor, but to sanctify the rich and the poor. He desires to sanctify the rich through charity and the poor through humility; the rich through liberality and the poor through thankfulness; the rich through alms deposited in the bosom of the poor, and the poor through resignation with which they accept their poverty. ...

If the world is consulted, the rich is the person for whom all the pleasures and all the conveniences of the world ... have been destined. ... According to the will of God, What is a rich person? ... A rich person is the shelter of the poor, ... destined by God to remedy needs, wipe tears and bring happiness to others. ... Oh rich, cries out St. John Chrysostom, be assured that if the Lord has poured out wealth in your house, this has not been in order that you may give yourself to the selfish pleasure of delighting yourself in it, but in order that you may have the sweet satisfaction, and the exclusive merit of distributing it to others through almsgiving.

I can hear the rich say: According to this our riches are something to be feared, rather than enjoyed. ... At the same time I hear the complaints of the poor who say: Why has the Lord left our sustenance in the hands of this proud and despicable rich person? For his vices always surpass his virtues. Unfortunate forsaken poor, beloved of my soul! My heart is the first one that answers you ... and then my tongue speaks to you words of comfort. ... Since God is the Governor of the Universe, we must ... submit ourselves absolutely to His laws. ... No, my children, do not add to your poverty the disgrace of not submitting to it. ... It has not been God's will to tax you, but to try and sanctify you. Remember that the Son of God chose for Himself that state of poverty that has been destined for you. ... If you know how to be satisfied with your poverty and how to use wisely such an estate as yours; you should deeply regret not having been poor. That same poverty that you do not desire on earth, you will bless eternally in heaven.

What can I say to you, oh rich? Is it not true that the command of almsgiving has been established ... for your good? Was it

impossible for the Lord to support and comfort the poor without you? Does He not support the ant who does not sow (Pr 6:6-8; 30:25?), and dress the lily who does not spin (Mt 6:28)? Woe to you, oh rich, if the Lord had not allowed you in almsgiving a torrent in which you could redeem your sins! ... Who can consider the vices that generally come with riches? the idleness? the profanity generated? ... Is not an abundance of grace necessary to resist all of the vices inspired by riches? ... If riches did not open the way through almsgiving to those merits that resist vices and to that virtue that forgives, then riches would be a very objectionable gift. ... But the Lord, who always is full of mercy towards humanity, has prepared the antidote in the poison itself, and has formed it out of the very same poison. The same riches that produce so many vices, distributed in alms contribute to dispose of them, and to attain virtues. ... Deposit a good portion of your goods into the bosom of the poor, as recommended by a Prophet (Is 58:7?), and I will tell you with St. Luke that you will receive a spirit of true penance to cleanse all of your faults (Lk 11:41).

However, I am exerting myself in vain, for none of you consider yourselves to be rich. ... You have much, ... but you think that you do not have enough. ... You claim not to have more than you need ... but allow me to ask, What about those costly garments that you are wearing? ... and those brilliant pieces of furniture? ... Are all of these things necessary? ... Only when speaking of almsgiving is there nothing more than that which is absolutely necessary; at any other time, there is abundance. ... You are poor only when it is necessary to help others, and rich when the time is ripe for ostentation. ... In order to free a virtuous maiden from the risks in which her poverty places her decency, no one will offer a penny. However, what will you offer that maiden! ... I do not dare to mention it. How much the world has degraded itself when decency does not allow us to correct it or even to mention these things!

Catholics, there is no reason to fool ourselves. Do not say that you do not give alms because you only have that which is necessary and nothing is left over. You should rather say that nothing is left over because our passions are so numerous that they consume everything. ... Do not think that you fool God. What am I saying? ... You do not even fool one another. ... If charity, instead of passion, governed your hearts, you could soon have enough to spare, and to do so abundantly; because, as stated by St. Augustine: just as passions never have enough, charity always has more than that which is needed.

You say that you must keep up the decency of class and that of estate. All of your expenses are needed for this. I confess that both religion and patriotism require distinction between classes and estates. ... At the same time consider that Esther trampled secretly upon the crown that she wore in public. ... True decency of class and estate in a Christian can only be a Christian decency, for there is no class or estate in which it is permissible for a Christian not to live

as a Christian. ... Anything that is opposed to the Spirit of the Holy Gospel ... must be separated from the decency of class and estate since the Gospel is always preaching modesty, simplicity and temperance.

When the decency of class and estate is reduced to Christian decency, will all of the expenses you make to sustain it be necessary, particularly since the Gospel rejects them? ... You alone are the ones that decide that your class and your estate require that clothing. ... If only one rich person who gives alms would appear dressed modestly, all would congratulate such a simplicity and disapprove the luxury that you are using, consuming even the goods of the poor. ... Position and true decency are supported only with modesty and almsgiving.

You may add, "But we must save for tomorrow. That which is not needed today may be indispensable tomorrow." To destroy this excuse it could be stated that God only permits us to save for tomorrow while He commands almsgiving. That which is commanded is more important than that which is permitted. Does our Heavenly Father not also command us to expect temporal goods from that hand that colors flowers with livelier colors than those that adorn royal garments (Mt 6:28,29)? ... Under the excuse of saving for the future you are expressing your lack of faith in the Lord. You offend Him in two ways: one, by not trusting His promises; and the other by not obeying His command of almsgiving. ... The most outstanding thing about this excuse is that only when the subject of almsgiving is mentioned do you remember that you must save something for the future. ... St. Augustine indicates that this is economy only at the time of almsgiving.

But, "We have many children of our own to support and educate for their own future." For this very reason you need heaven's special assistance and you must give alms in order to acquire this assistance. It is necessary to increase your spiritual expenses as well as your temporal expenses. This is what Job did, offering God a sacrifice for each one of his children (Job 1:5). Besides, you must count Jesus Christ as a member of your family and give Him his share by giving it to the poor. You must also count in this number your own soul, and give it its share in sacrifices and alms.

"We can not give because times are bad." I answer, "You do not give alms, and because of this times are bad." ... If the widow of Sarepta had done that which you are doing, she and her children would have perished. She only had a little bit of oil and a handful of flour. She gave it as alms, and since that moment she lacked nothing, even though all the country suffered hunger (1 K 17:9-16). Tobit was blind, and had for his sustenance only a third of the income of a weaver, because he had given all of his riches to the poor. However, he not only died rich, but he also left an abundant inheritance for his children and his grandchildren, and even for his great grandchildren (Tb 2:2; 4:7-11; 14:14). ...

The day will come in which God, who judges all righteousness,

will also judge the cause of the poor and He will make evident the falsehood of your excuses. What will you answer in that day? ... You see me sitting in this tribunal to protect them and also to make vengeance of your hardness and of your contempt (Mt 25:34-46). ...

I shudder when I consider that in that terrible day ... He will not make mention of so many horrible crimes ... and He will only present to the lost their sin of their harshness with the poor. ... I am also amazed when I consider that He will not mention so many and heroic virtues as those that are presented by all the righteous since Abel, ... and that He will only praise in them the virtue of almsgiving. ...

Loving and merciful God, loving and merciful Father, grant us merciful souls toward the poor, and a compassionate and liberal heart, that after sharing with them our goods in this life we may deserve to hear from your divine lips in the other life these sweet words: Come, blessed of my Father, ... Come to possess the Kingdom prepared for you in Heaven since the beginning of the world (Mt 25:34-36,34). Come to possess it for all of the centuries. Amen.

APPENDIX C

THE SERMONS OF PEDRO MARIA DE TORRECILLA

Pedro María de Torrecilla was the editor of a large collection of sermons published between 1851 and 1856. This collection was entitled *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores*. It is significant to notice that it was published in Paris and not in Spain. It contains his own sermons and those of others. Seven of these sermons are on social issues. These are considered in this appendix.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF PEDRO MARIA DE TORRECILLA

Practically nothing is known of this outstanding preacher. He is not mentioned either in Spanish encyclopaedias or in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. This could indicate that he was an *afrancesado*, a Jan-senist or both.

Nationality. Torrecilla was a Spaniard. This is important, since it means that he preached in Spanish rather than in French. It also means that his sermons were not translated into the Spanish language.

An evidence of this is that in his sermons he extolled the virtues of Spanish people. One of them, preached in time of national distress presents the names of military heroes who defeated great armies with few men. He includes Amaziah, Judas the Maccabee, Abraham, Joshua, Jonathan, Samson and Asa before stating "I omit the Gideons, Ferdinands of Castille, James of Aragon and the Princes of Montfort, who

with much smaller forces sustained God's cause and triumphed over their enemies."¹ While it is true that he mentioned a French hero, it is also true that he did this only after mentioning two Spanish heroes.

In a sermon preached at the inauguration of a court of justice Torrecilla presents the example of impartiality in justice:

Encouraged by these ideas ... of religion, morality and the conservation of the public good, the Recaredos, the Sisebutos, the Ramiros, the Alfonsos, the Ferdinands, the Isabellas, governed and increased their estates. Their actions were governed by the level of justice needed to serve as examples to their judges and magistrates. ... It should be sufficient to remember the conduct of the holy King Ferdinand with Rui Díaz, Lord of the Cameros; with Diego López de Haro, Lord of Vizcaya; and with many other great personalities of his kingdom. It should be sufficient to consider the execution of Henry III against the Guzmáns and the Ponce de Leóns in Seville. In order not to tire you, it should be sufficient to consider the strength of Ferdinand V of Aragon and his wife Isabella the Catholic in the administration of justice to all peoples. ...²

Only a Spaniard can talk like this. All twelve persons mentioned above are Spaniards. Recaredo³ and Sisebuto⁴ are from the Visigothic era that lasted approximately three centuries and ended with the advent of the Saracens between 711 and 721.⁵ He also goes that far back in a comment on the lack of justice. "Rome in the times of Marius and Sulla and Spain in those of Witiza and Rodrigo indicate clearly the

¹Pedro María de Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Ceremonias Sagradas*, II (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1851), 183.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 321, 322.

³"Recaredo," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* (1958), XLIX, 1136-1138.

⁴"Sisebuto," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* (1958), LVI, 819.

⁵Ricardo Vera Tornell, *Historia de la Civilización*. I (Barcelona: Editorial Ramón Sopena, S. A., 1958), 520, 521, 545, 546.

sad effects of the lack of justice."⁶ Only a few Spaniards could show this amount of interest and this much knowledge of the Visigothic period of Spanish history. Even in Latin-America most persons ignore it.

Times of Torrecilla. It is as difficult to date the life of Torrecilla as it is to determine his nationality. However, there are many indications of the dates in which he performed his work.

It has already been indicated that his collections of sermons were published between 1851 and 1856. This means that as far as those sermons are concerned he can not be dated after 1856. Since this is a date of publication it is safe to assume that the limit is 1855.

In one of his books he makes a list of famous preachers. He includes several Spanish preachers of the Nineteenth Century. The names of these preachers together with their dates are as follows:⁷ Miguel de Santander, 1744-1831;⁸ Manuel Fortea, who died in Madrid in 1825 and fought against the French invasion and for the independence of his country;⁹ Pantaleón García, an Argentine preacher who lived between 1757 and 1827 and also preached in favor of the independence of his country;¹⁰ finally, José de Jesús Muñoz Capilla, another Spanish

⁶Torrecilla, II, 322.

⁷Torrecilla, BSP, *Sermones Morales I* (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1851), 60.

⁸"Santander, Miguel de," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada E-A* (1958), LIV, 218.

⁹"Fortea, Manuel," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada E-A* (1958), XXIV, 556.

¹⁰"García, Pantaleón," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada E-A* (1958), XXV, 767.

preacher that lived between 1771 and 1840.¹¹ Since preachers gain recognition later in life rather than when they are young, this would place Torrecilla's first achievements at c. 1825. More significant than his mentioning these preachers is the fact that he includes in one of his volumes a sermon preached by Idelfonso García in Buenos Aires in 1844.¹² This means that the most significant decade in Torrecilla's work is the decade of 1840.

II. SPAIN, 1840-1855

The unstable condition of Spain has been described in Appendix B. The power of the Catholic Church was limited by the liberal Constitution of Cadiz of 1836. The counterrevolutionary reaction that followed was in power between 1843 and 1854. Laws were proclaimed that annulled the former ones. Even though only three orders were allowed to operate in the country at this time, the third one was unnamed. The Church used this as a pretext to introduce as many orders as it saw fit. All of this brought about another reaction that lasted between 1854 and 1856. Church properties were disposed of by the State. The bishops were opposed to this and the Holy See broke off relations with the country.¹³

This indicates that Torrecilla was most active during a period

¹¹"Muñoz Capilla, José de Jesús," *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada E-A* (1958), XXXVII, 420, 421.

¹²Torrecilla, BSP, *Conferencias Catequistas III* (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1851), 88-108.

¹³A. Ramos Oliveira, *Politics, Economics and Men of Modern Spain, 1808-1946* (London: V. Gallancz Ltd., 1946), pp. 50-52.

of conservative anti-French government in Spain. It was not a time in which a creative mind that sought new solutions to the problems could function freely. Under these conditions it was easier for Torrecilla to work in France.

III. FIRST SERMON ON ALMSGIVING

Torrecilla published two sermons on almsgiving. The following is an abbreviation of his first sermon on this subject.

*Spanish Text*¹⁴

Ha llegado el tiempo ... en que ya no tenemos a Jesucristo con nosotros. ... Dispuesto a inmolarse en una cruz para tomar posesión de su gloria, nos advierte que siempre tendremos pobres a quienes consolar (Mt 26:11), y que a ellos ha traspasado sus derechos con sus necesidades; que él recibirá lo que nosotros hagamos por ellos y los consuelos que acordemos a sus miserias (Mt 25:42-45). La naturaleza misma parece que bosqueja en nosotros los primeros rasgos y graba las primeras impresiones de estas virtudes. A pesar nuestro nos enternecemos a la vista de las miserias y nos conmovemos a los gritos del infortunio que alguna vez arranca suspiros de nuestro corazón, lágrimas de nuestros ojos. ...

Si la naturaleza preocupada por el propio interés nos facilita esta propensión a la práctica de la caridad, ¿qué será escuchando a los sagrados oráculos de la Religión que nada nos recomiendan tanto como el ejercicio de la misericordia? Cuando quieren que, a imitación del Salvador, estemos siempre dispuestos a sacrificarnos por nuestros hermanos, ¿puede dudarse de que esta obligación no comprenda la de darles parte de nuestros bienes para remediar sus necesidades?

No obstante todo esto, ... ¡qué extraño trastorno en las costumbres! El mundo, el mismo mundo católico está lleno de espíritus indiferentes y de corazones insensibles. Siempre que su felicidad no se altere por la desgracia de otros, poco le importa que la adversidad de los demás se resienta de la fortuna, y si alguna vez parece mostrar una compasiva asistencia, lo hace sólo apremiado por un sentimiento de política, muy distante por cierto de la generosidad y la benevolencia cristiana. ...

¹⁴Torrecilla, *op. cit.*, I, 53-61.

La limosna es un acto de caridad y de misericordia por el cual, excitados por la compasión y el amor de Dios, damos al prójimo alguna cosa de nuestra propiedad para atenuar su miseria, y San Agustín, queriendo darnos una idea exacta de esta virtud, la define así: *Aními dolentis affectum cum additamento beneficii*; una compasión del alma por las miserias de nuestro prójimo, y una formal inclinación a socorrer a los miserables. La limosna tiene dos acciones que le son propias: una interior que toca al corazón, y otra exterior que excita a la mano; la primera de compasión, la segunda de socorro: de modo que la compasión es el principio inmediato de la limosna, y esta el fruto o efecto natural de aquella; lo cual hace que vulgarmente se confundan una cosa con otra estas acciones y nos sirvamos de una misma palabra para expresarlas, aunque a juicio de San Gregorio, la compasión que acompaña a la limosna sea un don mayor que la limosna misma.

Esta virtud es uno de los principales deberes del amor al prójimo, pues si estamos obligados a amarle como a nosotros mismos (Mr 12: 31), la razón natural nos dicta que también lo estamos a todas las consecuencias de ese amor, que no es una pasión ociosa, sino que tiende precisamente a la ejecución, siendo, como es el amor, benéfico por sí mismo. Por eso no es posible amar al prójimo y dejar de auxiliarse en sus necesidades cuando se puede. "El que tuviere riquezas," dice San Juan (Ep. I, v. 37, realmente 3:17), "de este mundo, y viere a su hermano tener necesidad, y le cerrare sus entrañas, ¿cómo está la caridad de Dios en él?" Si la falta de caridad para con el prójimo hace criminal el no dar limosna, la falta de caridad hacia Dios hace criminal la falta de caridad hacia el prójimo. ...

Sí, amados míos, el mismo Dios es quien os exige esa limosna que hoy os pedimos para los pobres, y que ellos os piden tantas veces sin conseguirla. "En nombre de Dios," os dicen cada día, "echad sobre nosotros una mirada de compasión; interesaos, por Dios, en nuestro favor. Por Dios os pedimos, que dispenséis algún consuelo a nuestras necesidades y al exceso de nuestra miseria;" y vosotros os contentáis con responderles: "Dios os bendiga, Dios os ampare." ¡Qué lenguaje de cristianos! ¿Pensáis bien lo que decís con vuestro "Dios os asista"? ¿Por qué queréis que Dios subvenga a sus necesidades presentes mientras retenéis en vuestras manos el depósito que os ha confiado para ellos? ¿Miráis la limosna como una obra de supererogación y no de justicia porque os la piden por el amor de Dios? ...

"Siempre habrá pobres entre vosotros y no faltarán jamás," dice el Señor (Dt XV, v. 11). Os encargo personalmente que en los lugares donde os encontréis, proveáis y contribuyáis a su subsistencia, según vuestros medios. "Socorred a vuestros hermanos indigentes. Sin duda que les debéis la compasión a sus necesidades; para más se la debéis aun por obediencia a mis ordenes. "Pon tu tesoro en los mandatos del Altísimo y te aprovechará más que el oro." (Ecc. XXIX, v. 12-14). Ministros de mis voluntades, predicadores de mi ley, fijaos bien en la manera de instruir a los ricos sobre este punto; no vayaís a lisonjear su vanidad como habéis hecho otras veces. Predicadles la necesidad que tienen de socorrer a los desgraciados; mandadles esto de mi parte

con autoridad. *Praecepte*, mandadles a todos sin excepción, *praecepte de vitibus*; mandadles bajo pena de desobediencia criminal, que den liberalmente lo que liberalmente han recibido: *Praecepte de vitibus facile tribuere* (I Tm VI, v. 17). Aquellos, pues, que no dan limosna a los pobres pudiendo dárla, no sólo desobedecen a Dios, sino que se hacen culpables de una injusticia notoria contra ese Ser soberano; porque injusto es usar de los bienes contra la voluntad de quien es dueño de ellos. ... "Decidme," exclama San Basilio, "¿por qué tenéis riquezas? ¿Es Dios injusto en haber hecho una distribución tan desigual? ... "En vano," dice San Gregorio el Grande, "se consideran inocentes aquellos que se apropian para sí solos los bienes que Dios hizo comunes, pues no dando a los pobres lo que tienen de más, se vuelven asesinos y homicidas." "El pan que reserváis, ese trigo oculto en vuestros graneros," dice además San Basilio, "pertenece al pobre que se muere de hambre; esos vestidos, esas telas, son del hombre desnudo; ese dinero que ocultáis es del pobre, que está en la indigencia." Vosotros decís que sois dueños de los bienes que poseéis. Es verdad, mis amados, que son vuestros respecto de los demás hombres, y que nadie tiene el derecho de arrebatároslos: pero también lo es que tal posesión no es absoluta respecto de Dios, que es dueño de todo por una facultad inalienable, y que no os ha dado esos bienes para vosotros solos, ni podéis disponer de ellos sino según sus intenciones, de que repartáis entre los pobres lo que os sobre. Lo que estos solicitan como un beneficio, Dios os lo exige como una deuda; lo que los pobres piden con humildad, Dios lo manda como Señor y Rey. ...

Para acabar de convenceros de la indispensable necesidad de la limosna, escuchad lo que el mismo Jesucristo nos enseña sobre esta materia. Hablando el divino Legislador a un joven que preguntaba el camino de la vida eterna, le aconseja que venda todos sus bienes y que distribuya su producto entre los pobres (Mt 19:21). En otra ocasión, después de haber declamado contra la soberbia, la hipocresía y la superstición de los fariseos, ... les ofrece la remisión de sus pecados si consienten en derramar abundantes limosnas sobre el pobre (Mt 23:23; Lc 11:42). Aquí figurando a un rico avaro y cruel, sordo a los lamentos del pobre Lázaro, condena a los corazones empedernidos (Lc 16:19-31). Allí nos representa los beneficios que se desprenden de la liberalidad cristiana, bajo la imagen de la caritativa Samaritana, que había ejercido un acto de misericordia con un desconocido. Por todas partes se declara protector del pobre; en todas anatemiza la dureza de los ricos avarientos, y siempre promete las mas preciosas y abundantes recompensas a la práctica de la limosna. Pero no bastaba inculcar, amenazar, exhortar y prometer; era preciso mandar expresamente la limosna para contener la insaciable avaricia de los ricos; y esto es lo que Jesucristo hizo en su Evangelio. ... No se encuentra otra causa en el Evangelio, de la condenación de los réprobos, que su dureza para con los pobres y su insensibilidad hacia las aflicciones de sus hermanos. ... (S. Mt XXV, v. 35). ... De lo cual es fácil deducir que la limosna es un precepto precioso, pues que no sólo se condena por la omisión del consejo, sino por la transgresión del precepto. La limosna tiene sus principales ventajas en atraer sobre nosotros la misericordia de Dios,

servirnos de medio para satisfacer su justicia y procurarnos el perdón de nuestras culpas. ...

"La limosna," dice la Escritura, "es una usura santa que se hace con el Señor" (Pr XIX, v. 17). ... Los bienes que llevan consigo el carácter de la abundancia son aquellos que la caridad consagra: son el aceite de la viuda que se multiplicavirtiéndose (1 Ry 17:14); la misteriosa levadura que hace crecer la pasta (Mt 13:33); el grano de mostaza que llegando a ser un grande árbol, extiende sus ramas sobre vuestros campos para preservarlos de las inclemencias del tiempo (Mt 13:31); es, en fin, el vaso de agua ofrecido a Jesucristo, que se centuplica (Mt 25:35). "¿Se ha visto jamás," dice el Profeta, "al hombre caritativo en la necesidad de mendigar su pan? No; Dios es demasiado justo para que pudiera consentirlo ..." (Ps XXXVI, v. 25). "Dios es fiel en sus promesas y la verdad de sus palabras se justificará siempre por todas partes," dice San Pablo (II Th. III, v. 3). ...

Las ventajas que la limosna reporta no se limitan a las bendiciones temporales, sino que alcanzan al perdón de nuestros pecados, ... "Es pasmoso," exclama San Juan Crisóstomo, "ver en qué términos se expresa la Escritura cuando habla del poder de la limosna y de su virtud para borrar los pecados." "¡Bienaventurado," dice el profeta, "el que comprende bien el oculto misterio del pobre!" (Ps XL, v. 1). "Dichoso en la vida, el Señor se la hará dulce: ... Más dichoso en la muerte, el Señor le librará de la turbación del pecador" (vss. 1-3). ... Soberanamente dichoso en la eternidad, el mismo Señor será su recompensa. ... Nada tenemos mas terminante en favor del bautismo que lo que escribe San Lucas, "Haced limosna, y todo sin excepción os será perdonado" (Lc 11:41). ... La continuación de vuestros días no es mas que un tejido de iniquidades, que terminará bien pronto por la muerte. "¿Qué no debéis temer de la justicia de un Dios que tratará a los ricos y a los poderosos con más dureza que a los otros (Ps XXXIX. Sp VI, v.7)? ...

Por pecadores que seáis, no será más que lo fue Nabucodonosor. En este nombre, que no se pronuncia sino con cierta especie de horror, vosotros veis un impío, un malvado, un ateo; no importa, le dice Daniel, haced limosna, y o yo paso por un falso profeta, o respondo de la remisión de vuestros pecados ... no porque la limosna justifique por sí misma, pues en este caso no sería necesario el sacramento de la penitencia, ... sino porque pasando de la mano del pobre al seno de Dios que la recoge, devuelve gracias que sabiendo aprovecharse de ellas llegan a convertir a los más grandes pecadores ... (Dn IV, v. 41). Redimid vuestros pecados por la limosna; y de este modo las riquezas que habían sido el instrumento de vuestro pecado, vendrán a ser el medio de su reparación, para hacernos comprender lo que San Pablo dice que todo contribuye al bien de los que aman a Dios (Rm VIII, v. 28). ... "Tus riquezas son las que te han perdido," decía San Agustín a un rico avaro, "y por las mismas riquezas te salvarás." Las riquezas dan a los que las poseen medios para conseguir poderosos intercesores, que por gratitud, por deber y por interés están obligados a pedir gracia por ellos; y esos intercesores son los pobres, ... amigos de Jesucristo, que se

han hecho suyos según el Evangelio (S. Lc XVI, v. 9). ... Esos pobres cuyos votos se elevan hasta el trono de Dios que los escucha ... (Ps XXXIII, v. 7). ... Esos pobres cuyo valimiento cerca de Dios no depende precisamente ni de su mérito, ni de su inocencia, pues según se expresa la Escritura, no es propiamente el pobre quien intercede por el rico, sino la limosna que le ha hecho. "Poned vuestra limosna," dice la Sabiduría, "en el seno del pobre, y ella rogará por vosotros" (Ecc XXIX, v. 15). ... ¡Ah Hermanos míos muy amados! Aprovechaos, ... ese es vuestro rescate y si no os servís de él, ¿sabéis a lo que os exponéis? Que viviréis en la esclavitud del pecado y en pecado moriréis. ... Ofreced a Dios el sacrificio de vuestras limosnas, y él hará descender sobre vosotros los tesoros de su gracia. Daos prisa, no lo dilatéis, porque el Señor no está lejos, y es posible que bien pronto vaya a descargar su brazo. ... Plegue al cielo que os sea saludable esta advertencia y que por la caridad para con el prójimo reviva en vuestros corazones la caridad de Dios, única que os puede conducir a la eterna bienaventuranza. Amén.

English Version

The time has arrived ... in which we no longer have Jesus Christ with us, ... willing to offer Himself on a cross in order to take possession of His glory, He admonishes us that we will always have the poor to whom we are to give our comfort (Mt 26:11). To them He has transferred His rights with their needs. He will receive that which we do for them and the comfort that we provide for their miseries (Mt 25: 42-45). It seems as though nature itself outlines in us the first traits and engraves the first impressions of these virtues. In spite of ourselves we are moved to compassion at the sight of these miseries and we are touched by the lamentations of deprivation that sometimes wrest sighs from our hearts, tears from our eyes. ...

If nature itself, concerned with its own interest, facilitates this propensity to the practice of charity in our lives, What will it be when we listen to the sacred oracles of Religion that do not recommend anything more strongly than the practice of mercy? When in imitation of the Saviour they want us to always be willing to sacrifice ourselves for our brothers, Can anyone doubt that this obligation includes that of giving them a portion of our goods in order to cover their needs?

In spite of this, ... How strangely habits have changed! The world, even the Catholic world is full of indifferent spirits and insensitive hearts. As long as personal happiness is not altered by the misfortune of others, it is not very important if the adversity of others is offended by our fortune. If at times it appears to provide compassionate assistance, this is done out of a political need, which is truly very far removed from Christian benevolence. ...

Almsgiving is an act of charity and mercy by which, moved by

compassion and the love of God, we give our neighbor something that belongs to us in order to relieve his misery. St. Augustine, in an effort to give us an exact idea of this virtue defines it as "*animi dolentis affectum cum additamento beneficii*," a soul-compassion for the miseries of others and a formal inclination to help those that are in misery. Almsgiving has two actions that are peculiar to it: one is interior and touches the heart, and the other exterior and excites the hand; the first one is related to compassion and the second one to relief. This makes compassion the immediate principle of almsgiving, which becomes the fruit or final result of it. Because of this, these two actions are commonly confused and one term is used to describe both of them, even though according to Gregory the compassion that goes with almsgiving is greater than the gift itself.

This virtue is one of the most important duties in relation to the love due to others, since we are under obligation to love them as we love ourselves (Mk 12:31). Reason itself dictates that we are also under obligation to all of the natural consequences of this love. It is not an idle passion, but one that precisely leans towards execution, being, just like love, its own benefit. Because of this it is not possible to love our brother and not help him whenever that is possible. "Whosoever has riches," says St. John (1 Jn I, v. 37, actually 17) "of this world, and sees his brother in need, and closes his heart; How can the love of God abide in him?" If the lack of love to others makes it a crime to refuse to give alms, the lack of love to God makes it a crime not to love others. ...

Yes, beloved, God Himself demands these alms that we request today for the poor, and that they so often request in vain. "In the name of God," they tell you daily, "look at us with pity. For God's sake interest yourselves in us. For God's sake, we request some comfort for our needs and the excess of our misery." ... You only reply, "May God bless you, may He have mercy." What language for a Christian to use! Are you aware of what you are saying when you say "May God bless you" ...? Why do you want God to intervene in their present needs while you withhold that with which He has entrusted you for their benefit? Do you look upon almsgiving as a work of supererogation and not of justice because they request it for the sake of God?

The Lord says that "there will always be the poor in your midst and they will never cease" (Dt XV, v. 11). ... Wherever you may be, I personally charge you with the responsibility of providing and contributing to their support according to your means. "Help your indigent brethren. You undoubtedly owe compassion to their needs; but even more so because of obedience to my commands. Put your treasures under the will of the Most High and this will benefit you more than gold" (Ecc. XXIX, vv. 12-14). Ministers of my will, preachers of my law, be very careful of the way in which you instruct the rich on this matter. Be sure that you do not flatter their vanity as you have so often done in the past. Preach to them the need that they have of helping those in need. Command this with authority. *Praecepte*, command all of them, without exception. *Praecepte de vitibus*, command them under penalty of

criminal disobedience, that they may liberally give that which they have liberally received ... (1 Tm VI, v. 17). Thus, those that do not give alms to the poor, while they are able to do so, not only disobey God, but become guilty of injustice against that Sovereign Being, for it is unjust to use goods against the will of their owner. ... St. Basil asks the reason for your having riches. Is God unjust for having made such an unequal distribution? "In vain," declares St. Gregory the Great, "do those who appropriate for themselves alone the goods that God has made common to all proclaim their innocence; for by not giving to the poor of their surplus, they become assassins and homicides." Besides this, St. Basil indicates that "the bread and grain that is being reserved in your granaries belongs to the poor who are dying of hunger; those clothes belong to the naked; that money that is hidden belongs to the poor who have none." You call yourselves the rightful owners of the goods that you possess. It is true that they belong to you rather than to other men and no one has the right of taking them by force. It is also true that such a possession is not absolute in the sight of God, who is the inalienable owner of everything. He has not given you these things only for your own use. You can not dispose of them except according to His intention that you may share with the poor that which you have above that which you need. That which they request as a benefit, God requires as a debt. That which the poor beg for with humility, God commands as Lord and King. ...

In order to complete the work of convincing you of the absolute need of alms, hear what Jesus Christ Himself teaches us on this matter. When the Divine Legislator spoke to a young man that asked about the way to eternal life, He advised him to sell all that he had and to distribute the proceeds among the poor (Mt 19:21). After speaking against pride on another occasion, and against the hypocrisy and superstition that characterized the pharisees, ... he offered them the remission of sins if they consented to give abundant alms to the poor (Mt 23:23; Lk 11:42). Here he speaks of a rich and cruel man who does not hear the pleas of poor Lazarus and condemns those hearts that do not repent (Lk 16:19-31). There, under the image of the charitable Samaritan woman who performed an act of mercy for someone she did not know, He indicates the benefits of Christian liberality. He often declares Himself to be the protector of the poor. He anathematized the hardness of the selfish rich. He always promises the greatest reward to those who practice almsgiving. However, it was not enough to inculcate, threaten, exhort and promise. It was necessary for Him to command almsgiving explicitly in order to stop the unquenchable avarice of the rich. This is exactly what Jesus did in His Gospel. ... No other cause of the hardness of the lost is presented than that of the hardness of their hearts toward the poor and their insensibility to the afflictions of their brethren. ... (St. Mt XXV, v. 35). ... From this it is easy to conclude that almsgiving is a precious commandment. It is not only condemned by the omission of the advise, but by the transgression of the precept. The main advantage of almsgiving is that it brings upon us God's mercy. It serves as a means to satisfy His justice and achieve the forgiveness of our sins.

The Bible tells us that almsgiving is a holy usury made with the Lord (Pr XIX, v. 17). Yes, beloved, to give liberally to the poor is to loan to God for a percentage of interest, and He will know how to return in due time that which you give today to the poor (Pr XIX, v. 17). ... The goods that have with them the character of abundance are those that are consecrated by charity. They are the oil of the widow that is multiplied as it is poured (1 K 17:14); the mysterious leaven that makes the dough grow (Mt 13:33); the mustard seed that becomes a great tree and extends its branches over your fields to preserve them from the weather (Mt 13:31); it is, in one word, the glass of water that is offered to Jesus Christ and is multiplied a hundred fold (Mt 25:35). Is there a charitable man who must beg for his own bread? No. God is righteous enough not to allow such a thing to happen (Ps XXXVI, v. 25). God is faithful in His promises and the truth of His words will justify itself always and everywhere according to St. Paul (II Thes. III, v. 3). ...

The advantages presented by almsgiving are not limited to temporal blessings. They also include the forgiveness of our sins. ... St. John Chrysostom indicates that "it is surprising to see the words used by Scripture when it speaks of the power of almsgiving and its virtue in the forgiveness of sins." The prophet presents a blessing upon the person that understands clearly the mystery of the poor (Ps XL, v. 1). God will make his life sweet. ... He will be even happier in death, since God will free him from the uneasiness of the sinner (vv. 1-3). ... He will be even happier during eternity, since the Lord Himself will be his reward. ... Nothing stronger is written concerning baptism than that which St. Luke wrote, "Give alms, and absolutely everything will be forgiven" (Lk 11:41). ... The continuation of your days is nothing more than a tissue of iniquities that will soon come to an end through death. Should you not fear the righteousness of a God who will treat the rich and the powerful more severely than the others (Ps XXXIX. Wis VI, v. 7)? ...

As sinful as you may be, you are not more than Nebuchadnezzar used to be. This name, pronounced even with fear, is the name of an unrighteous, wicked atheist. It does not matter. Daniel tells him, give alms or I am a false prophet, or I will answer for the remission of your sins ... not because alms justify by themselves, for if this were so, the sacrament of penance would be unnecessary ... but because in passing from the hand of the poor to the bosom of God who receives them, they return grace in that knowing how to use them they come to convert the greatest sinners ... (Dn IV, v. 41). Redeem your sins through almsgiving. This way, the riches that had been the instrument of your sin will become the means of their reparation so that we may understand that which was said by St. Paul, that all things work together for good to those who love God. ... (Rm VIII, v. 28). St. Augustine used to tell a selfish rich man that his wealth had caused him to be lost and that through those very same riches he would be saved. Those riches give to those who have them means through which they may acquire strong intercessors, who through gratitude, duty and interest are under obligation to request grace for them, and those intercessors

are the poor, ... friends of Jesus Christ, who has become one with them according to the Gospel (St. Lk. XVI, v. 9). ... Those poor whose requests go to God's throne and He hears them ... (Ps XXXIII, v. 7). ... Those poor, whose worth in the presence of God depends neither on their merits nor their innocence, since according to Scripture it is not the poor who intercede for the rich, but the alms that have been given. "Put your alms," says the Wisdom "in the bosom of God, and they will plead for you" (Ecc XXIX, v. 15). ... Ah, my beloved brethren! Avail yourselves of this, your redemption. Do you know to what you expose yourselves if you do not do this? You will live and die in the slavery of sin. ... Offer unto God the sacrifice of your alms, and He will make the treasures of His grace descend upon you. Do not postpone this, for the Lord is not far away, and it is possible that He will soon lay bear His arm (Is 52:10). ... May Heaven permit that this advice may be beneficial unto you and that through charity to others God's charity may be born anew in your hearts. It is the only thing that can take you to eternal bliss. Amen.

IV. SECOND SERMON ON ALMSGIVING

This sermon is very similar to the sermon of Santiago José García Mazo that was presented in Appendix B. Because of this it will not be presented in its entirety.

Similarities to the Sermon of García Mazo

This sermon is opposed to the excuses offered by many for not giving alms to the poor. Torrecilla defines the superfluous in a similar way to that in which it was defined by García Mazo. He also defines the different kinds of needs more or less in the same way, the only difference being that he calls "urgent" the needs that García Mazo called "grave." Both men also indicated that there is no question about the need to meet extreme needs out of that which is considered necessary for the conservation of the social estate or rank.¹⁵ Some of the

¹⁵Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Conferencias Catequistas*, I (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1851), 61-63; Appendix B, pp.

arguments in favor of almsgiving are also similar to those of García Mazo, such as the one related to the future of the children.¹⁶

García Mazo Requires More than Torrecilla

García Mazo required the rich to help the poor in their serious needs out of the means that they needed to keep up their estate. He required them to use all of their effort to help the needy in their urgent necessities.¹⁷ Torrecilla required this to be done only from the superfluous means.¹⁸

Statements in Torrecilla's Sermon not Found in García Mazo's Sermon

Torrecilla reminded his listeners that the poor did not have any authority with which to defend themselves.¹⁹ One of his most interesting statements presents the way in which the churches of antiquity were willing to sell their decorations and images in order to help their needy:²⁰

The poor of the first centuries were so persuaded of this truth that even though the splendor of divine worship was much more worthy of consideration and more essential than personal exterior ornament, they divested the churches of their ornaments and sold their sacred cups of silver and gold in order to help the poor in times of famine. This was also done to pay for the redemption of captives of war. We know that this was done by St. Ambrose.

Torrecilla also indicates that alms must be given from goods that are lawfully possessed. A woman can not give that which belongs

¹⁶Torrecilla, p. 65; Appendix B, pp.

¹⁷Appendix B, pp.

¹⁸Torrecilla, p. 64. ¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 62. ²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 63

to her husband, except in an emergency. This is much more the case when speaking of children and even more so in reference to servants.²¹

V. CHRISTIANITY, CONSIDERED TO BE THE MOST SUBLIME

PERSONIFICATION OF CHARITY

*Spanish Text*²²

Señores: La caridad, que es la grande y perentoria necesidad de nuestro siglo, es también el gran poder, el poder por excelencia de nuestros tiempos y en nuestras sociedades modernas; porque sola ella corresponde a la plenitud, a la universalidad de nuestras miserias por la eficacia de sus socorros. La miseria de los cuerpos ... pide necesariamente servidumbres voluntarias: la caridad es la sola que tiene ese poder de crear semejantes voluntarias servidumbres.

La miseria de los corazones ... pide necesariamente ... una potencia grande, efectiva, sublime de mediación entre ellas. La caridad es la sola que se halla en posición de promover mediadores todopoderosos.

En fin, la miseria de las almas ... pide necesaria y parentoriamente una grande y universal conversión popular. ... La caridad es la sola que puede suscitar predicadores populares y acomodados a las exigencias y situación del siglo. ... Ved que tenemos ya sentadas dos verdades importantísimas: necesidad contemporánea de la caridad, poder contemporáneo de la caridad. ... Pero, ¿en dónde reside la caridad? ¿Quién posee verdaderamente la caridad?

Señores, la caridad no es otra cosa que el cristianismo. ... Dice el espíritu del siglo, "yo soy el abismo del egoísmo." Como un abismo llama a otro abismo, el cristianismo se viene hacia vosotros exclamándoos, "yo soy la caridad, la personificación misma de la caridad."

Desenvolver este abismo infinito de la caridad con todo lo que encierra sobrepujaría seguramente los cotos de un solo discurso. ... Yo no intento pues hoy sino echar una ojeada sobre el fenómeno divino del cristianismo-caridad. ...

²¹ Torrecilla, p. 68.

²² Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Tratados Morales*, III (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1851), 98-111.

PRIMERA REFLEXION

El cristianismo es caridad. ... En el cristianismo, cual acontece en todo cuerpo constituido para llenar una destinación se pueden distinguir tres cosas: vida, organización y acción. "El que no ama," dice el apóstol Juan, "no conoce a Dios, porque Dios es caridad" (1 Jn 4:8). ... Aplicando esta sublime sentencia al cristianismo, podemos decir también: "El que no ama, no conoce el cristianismo, porque el cristianismo es caridad." El cristianismo ... es Dios en el hombre, ... es la acción de Dios en la humanidad; luego síguese que es la caridad misma, así como Dios es caridad. ... En el corazón del cristianismo ¿qué halláis vosotros? Encontráis lo que se halla en todo corazón, a saber, amor; y por cuanto este amor no es otro que el amor de Dios en el hombre, no es por consiguiente otra cosa sino la caridad misma. ...

Cuando el cristianismo hizo su aparición primera en la tierra, se presentó un fenómeno verdaderamente digno de atención; y fue el fuego (Hch 2:1). ... Apenas se estacionó esta vida del cielo en la humanidad, comenzó a manifestarse con todos los caracteres que testifican la caridad, con la unidad, con la fraternidad, con la donación y espontáneo ofrecimiento de sí mismo a otros. ... Despojándose de todo lo que poseen y tienen, venden todos sus bienes, ... danlos a los demás, distribuyéndolos no según sus méritos, sino según sus necesidades (Hch 2:44,45). ... Toda vida tiene también ... un movimiento que la arrastra; y la vida, considerándola bien, es el movimiento mismo. ... El movimiento propio de una vida de amor y caridad es el movimiento de adentro para afuera, es el movimiento de expansión. ... He aquí el fuego del cielo, el fuego sagrado caído a la tierra y prendido en ella para no detenerse nunca e ir por todas partes. A tal signo reconoceréis, señores, en el cristianismo la verdadera vida del amor y de la caridad. ...

En toda vida un tercer requisito: a saber, una ley que la dirige. ... ¿Cuál es la ley soberana del amor y de la caridad? Es la de amar, amar y siempre amar. Resulta pues de este principio que si el cristianismo es verdaderamente una vida de amor, ha de tener por ley suprema y soberana la obligación de amar. ¿Sucede esto así? ... ¿Cuál es en el cristianismo la ley que abraza y encierra y contiene y resume las demás leyes, la ley principio, la ley fundamental, en una palabra, la plenitud de la ley? ... "El primer mandamiento es este: Amarás a tu Dios de todo tu corazón, ... y el segundo es semejante a este: Amarás a tu prójimo como a ti mismo. En estos dos mandamientos tienes toda la ley y los profetas (Mt 22:36-40). ...

Pero no era esta aun la gran revelación del cristianismo. Lo que tenía que constituir la originalidad ... de la ley cristiana, era que esta dualidad desapareciese en la unidad, y que ... la plenitud de la ley fuese verdadera y efectivamente el amor, la caridad. ... Tal es la ley que ... fue promulgada por el hombre mas digno de ser intérprete suyo, por el apóstol grande que la sentía latir en su corazón, ... cuando clamaba a todas las naciones diciendo: *Ergo plenitudo legis*

When Christianity first appeared on earth it appeared in a phenomenon that was worthy of attention. That phenomenon was fire (Acts 2:1). ... This heavenly life had barely established itself in humanity, when it began to manifest itself with all of the characteristics that testify to charity: with unity, brotherhood and the spontaneous offering of itself to others. ... Divesting themselves of all of their possessions, they sell all their goods, ... give them to others, distributing them not according to their merits, but according to their needs (Acts 2:44,45). ... All life also has ... a movement that draws it; and life itself, considering it in all its facets, is movement itself. ... This movement propels a life of love and charity from inside the person to the outside. It is the movement of expansion. ... Behold the fire from heaven, the sacred fire that has fallen upon earth and has lighted itself upon it in order to continue everywhere until the end. In such a sign you will recognize in Christianity the true life of love and charity. ...

All life has a third requirement, a law that leads it. ... Which is the sovereign law of love and charity? It is the law of loving, loving and loving eternally. Considering this principle, since Christianity there is truly a life of love. It also ought to have the obligation to its supreme law. ... Is this so? ... Which is the law that includes and encloses all other laws in Christianity? Which is the law that is the foundation and principle of all law? In one word, the fullness of law? "The first commandment is this, 'Love the Lord your God with all your heart,' ... the second is similar to this, 'Love your neighbor as yourself.' In these two commandments you have all of the law and the prophets." (Mt 22:36-40). ...

However, even this was not yet the great revelation of Christianity. That which constituted the originality of Christian law was that this duality would disappear in unity, and that ... the fullness of the law would truly and effectively be love, charity. ... Such is the law ... that was proclaimed by the man who was most worthy of becoming its interpreter, the great apostle that felt it beating in his heart, ... when he proclaimed to all nations, "*Ergo plenitudo legis est dilectio.*" Thus, love is the fullness of the law. Thus, the fullness of the law is charity. ... Just as there is not but one law in the physical world, the law of gravity or attraction, ... so, ever since Jesus Christ placed His love and His heart in the center of humanity, ... there is only one law in humanity, and that is the law of love. This law summarized in itself all other laws. ... Religion only asks one thing of you, that is to love. ... Love all of humanity, love your own enemies, above all, your enemies. ... It is a great and eternal truth that the greatest hero of charity among us is the greatest Christian.

Thus, Gentlemen, that which has been said authorizes me to conclude that the life of the Christian is really and truly the life of charity. I add that the organization of Christianity is nothing other than the organization of charity in the world, and this is my

est dilectio (Rm 13:10); luego el amor es la plenitud de la ley, luego la plenitud de la ley consiste toda en la caridad. ... Así como no hay sino una ley en el mundo físico, la ley de la atracción, ... tampoco hay, desde que Jesucristo ha puesto su amor y su corazón en el centro de la humanidad ... sino una ley en la humanidad, y esa es la ley del amor, y esta ley resume en sí a todas las demás leyes. ... Solo os pide la religión una cosa: amar, ... amar a la humanidad entera, amar a vuestros propios enemigos, y sobre todo a vuestros enemigos. ... Es una grande y eterna verdad que el mayor héroe de la caridad es entre nosotros el mayor cristiano.

Así señores, lo dicho me da derecho para concluir que la vida del cristiano es real y verdaderamente la vida de la caridad. Yo añado, señores, que la organización del cristianismo no es otra cosa sino la organización de la caridad en el mundo, y es mi

SEGUNDA REFLEXION

Es muy constante, señores, que toda vida ha recibido de la providencia, para alcanzar su fin y destinación, lo que ordinariamente se llama un organismo. ... El organismo cristiano no es otra cosa que la jerarquía católica, ... una subordinación graduada de funciones de amor y caridad. ... Se presenta a vuestra vista la gran jerarquía católica resumiéndose en tres grados eminentes: la función pastoral, la función episcopal y el pontificado supremo. Y ¿qué veis en este fenómeno vosotros? Una función de amor que va ascendiendo con la dignidad, con el poder. ...

¡Ah, yo te saludo, oh Jacob! "¡Cuán hermosos son tus tabernáculos! ¡Oh Israel, cuán magníficas son tus tiendas!" (Nm 24:5). ...

En este gran ejército del Señor que es esencial e intrínsecamente la organización de la caridad, creo haber expresado, ... si no me engaño, que se alistan los reclutas para amar, que se marcha para darse a sí mismo, y que se triunfa para morir. ... Hermanos de mi sacerdocio, hermanos de mi apostolado, a vosotros apelo y os conjuro que me desmintáis, si es posible. ... Cuando se viene a nuestra bandera, cuando se alistan bajo el estandarte que nos une, como venimos para amar, como que nos alistamos para amar, marchamos para darnos. Sí, señores, tenemos una gran divisa entre nosotros, y esta divisa es: Dar lo mas, recibir lo menos. ...

Por último, señores, así como la organización corresponde a la vida, la acción ha de corresponder a la organización; y este punto formará el objeto de mi

TERCERA REFLEXION

La acción es aquello que hay más decisivo en la vida, es la última y soberana manifestación del ser, porque por medio de ella arriba este a su destino. ... No basta aparentar, sino que es necesario

hacer; y hacer y obrar, señores, es la gran prueba a que se halla sometido todo ser en la creación. ...

Luego, señores, la cuestión de saber si el cristianismo es verdaderamente y en sí mismo amor, si es caridad, se reduce a estos términos: el cristianismo obrando por sí mismo, en la espontaneidad de su acción, ... ¿obra el bien y obra el mal? ...

Sí, señores; el cristianismo opera el bien cuando obra por sí mismo y no puede obrar sino el bien, lo bueno; y de aquí saco por conclusión inmediata: El cristianismo es amor, el cristianismo es caridad. Sí, el bien es su espontánea germinación, ... su fruto. ...

Cuando el precursor Juan envió a sus discípulos a Jesucristo ... para saber de su propia boca lo que importaba saber de él, le dijeron ellos a nuestro Salvador: "Sois vos el que ha de venir, o es menester que esperemos otro?" ¿Y qué hizo el Señor? No responde nada, según refiere el Evangelio; sino que en aquel mismo instante, *in ipsa hora*, cura de sus enfermedades una muchedumbre de enfermos; lo cual verificado a presencia de aquellos, les dijo: "Mirad, id a contar a Juan lo que habéis visto. ..." (Mt 11:3-5). ...

Lo que pasó entonces pasa ahora a nuestros ojos. Hombres que esperan yo no sé que Mesías venidero envían sus doctores al cristianismo para preguntarle: ¿Eres tú la religión que esperamos? Religión de lo pasado, ¿eres todavía tú la religión del porvenir, o es menester que esperemos otra? El cristianismo, señores, como el divino Maestro, no responde, sino que obra. Cura a los enfermos, consuela a los afligidos, calma los dolores. ... Estas tres expresiones, señores, os hacen ir de claro en claro, de luz en luz; *de claritatem in claritatem*. ...

Lo que no es verdaderamente amor y caridad puede, en cierto espacio de tiempo, simular el beneficio. Puede dar por hijos de su amor los que no son sino hijos de su egoísmo. Pero hacer bien siempre, hacer bien durante diez y nueve siglos, ... ¡qué prodigio! Tito vivió pocos días, y Tito era bueno; y sin embargo cuenta la historia que más de una vez se puso a suspirar por la noche diciendo: "¡Hoy no he hecho bien a nadie, hoy he perdido mi jornada!"

Señores, el cristianismo ha vivido muy pronto harán dos mil años, y nunca jamás ha podido decir: hoy he perdido mi jornada, no he hecho ningún bien. No, no, ni un solo día, ni una sola hora se han pasado sin estar llenos de beneficios que él ha derramado a manos llenas en el seno de la humanidad. ...

Por último, señores, y para consumir esta demostración, sólo me queda por deciros, que lo que el cristianismo está haciendo en todo tiempo, en todo lugar, lo hace en todos los grados de la grande escala de la humanidad con la perpetuidad, con la extensión, con la plenitud del beneficio. ...

Sondead, señores, sondead el cristianismo en todas sus

profundidades; y os dirá siempre lo mismo: ... amor, amor; caridad, caridad.

Cuando acontece mirar al sol de un punto cualquiera del espacio o del tiempo, os envía siempre una misma cosa: ... luz, calor. Y cuando dentro de seis meses lo miremos en el otro punto de nuestra órbita terrestre, ... ¿qué es lo que nos enviará? Igualmente luz, igualmente calor. Tal es el cristianismo. ... El es también un sol, y su luz es la verdad, y su luz es la caridad: avánzase también él cual gigante para recorrer su carrera; y no hay ninguno que pueda esquivarse ni al resplandor de su luz, ni a la fecundidad de su calor (Ps 19:1). ...

Nosotros tenemos una religión que es amor, no otra cosa que amor. ... El siglo es un abismo de egoísmo, el cristianismo es por su parte un mar inmenso de caridad. Derrámase pues este mar en aquel abismo y ciéguelo. ... Abrase el divino incendio del cristianismo al corazón helado del siglo, y la sociedad se salvó. ...

¿Qué os pedimos a vosotros, cristianos? ... ¿Os pedimos por ventura degenerar repentinamente y cortar el vuelo de la industria, cortar y cercenar las alas del ingenio mercantil o hacer retrogradar la ciencia? No, señores, y mil veces no. ... No os pedimos tampoco, señores, rompáis con vuestras propias manos el carro que conduce la fortuna pública o las particulares. Nuestro gran mal, nuestro desastroso mal no consiste en que todo haya marchado, sino en que haya ido a la merced del egoísmo y en contra de la humanidad. Luego, marche todo eso de hoy en adelante a impulsos de la caridad y en beneficio real de la humanidad misma.

Oh vosotros que extendéis y desplegáis todas vuestras velas, ... marcháis vosotros con rapidez y con prosperidad nunca vistas hacia todas las californias del mundo conocido y por conocer. En hora buena: oro buscáis, y encontráis oro; pero no os olvidéis de que vosotros poseéis el oro verdadero, el oro puro de la verdad, el oro divino de la caridad. ... Ventajoso es aun en el sentido social que llevéis y derraméis también por doquiera vuestro oro, mas puro y sublime que el polvo terrestre.

¡Ah señores; viajar para enriquecerse, viajar para gozar, navegar para estas dos cosas exclusivamente, yo os declaro en nombre de Jesucristo nuestro Señor que ... eso no es digno de nosotros cristianos ante todo, hijos de Dios ante todo! Tiro hizo otro tanto, Sidón hizo otro tanto, y otro tanto hizo Cartago. No se diga por Dios, señores, que diez y ocho siglos de cristianismo no hayan venido a dar por resultado moral y físico sino a hacer de nosotros hábiles Tirenses o Cartagineses venturosos.

No señores, no; esto no debe, no puede ser así; menester es que hoy día navegue la verdad al viento del amor y caridad en la popa de vuestros navíos para arribar a las playas lejanas. ... Tal es vuestra vocación, dar verdad en trueque de oro, dar espíritu en cambio de

materia, dar la eternidad en cambio del tiempo. Esa es la vocación que Dios os ha predestinado, ese vuestro llamamiento de lo alto; y eso se hará así, porque así es como debe hacerse.

English Version

Gentlemen: Charity, which is the great and pressing need of our century, is also the great power, the power par excellence of our times and in our modern societies. It is the only one that answers fully the universality of our miseries by the efficacy of its aid. The misery of the bodies ... must ask for voluntary servitude. Charity alone has the power of creating such voluntary servitudes.

The misery of the hearts ... necessarily asks ... for a great and effective power that mediates between them. Charity is the only one that can put forward mediators who can prevail over everything.

What is more, the misery of the souls, ... finds it necessary and urgent to ask for a great and universal popular conversion. Only charity can bring popular preachers who can adjust to the demands and the situation of the century. ... Notice that we have already established two very important truths: the contemporary need of charity and the contemporary power of charity. ... But, Where does charity reside? Who truly possesses charity?

Gentlemen, charity is nothing else but Christianity. ... The spirit of the century says, "I am the depth of selfishness." Just as deep calls unto deep, Christianity comes to you, saying, "I am charity, the personification itself of charity."

To unfold this infinite abyss of charity with all that it encloses would certainly surpass the bounds of one speech. ... I will only endeavor today to begin the consideration of the divine phenomenon of Christianity-charity.

FIRST CONSIDERATION

Christianity is charity. ... In Christianity, as in every other body that has been constituted to fulfill a destiny, three things may be distinguished: life, order and action. All of these three things tell you that Christianity is charity. "He who does not love," says the apostle John, "does not know God, for God is charity" (1 Jn 4: 8). ... Applying this sublime sentence to Christianity, we can also say, "He who does not love, does not know Christianity, for Christianity is charity." Christianity ... is God in man, ... it is the action of God in humanity; thus it is charity itself, just as God is charity. ... What do you find in the heart of Christianity? You will find that which is found in every heart, that is, love; and since this love is none other than the love of God in humanity, it is none other than charity itself.

SECOND REFLECTION

It is clear, Gentlemen, that in order to fulfill its mission, all life has received from divine providence what is commonly called an organism. ... The Christian organism is nothing other than the Catholic hierarchy, ... a graduated subordination of the functions of love and charity. The great Catholic hierarchy presents itself before you in three eminent steps, the pastoral function, the episcopal function and the supreme pontificate. What do you see in this phenomenon? A function of increasing love as power increases. ...

I salute you, oh Jacob! How beautiful are your tabernacles! Oh, Israel, how magnificent are your encampments! (Nm 24:5). ...

Brethren of my priesthood, brethren of my apostleship, those of you who by chance are in this holy building, I appeal to you to deny this, if it is possible. ... When we come under this flag that joins us, we come to love. We enlist to love. We march to give ourselves. Yes, we have a great motto before us: Give the most, receive the least. ...

In closing, Gentlemen, just as the organization corresponds to life, action must correspond to the organization. This is the object of my

THIRD REFLECTION

Action is the most decisive thing in life. It is the ultimate and sovereign manifestation of the being, since through it the final destiny is achieved. ... It is not enough to seem. It is necessary to work and to do. To be and to work is the great trial to which every being of creation submits itself. ...

This means that the problem of knowing if Christianity is in itself love, charity, is reduced to this, Does Christianity, working by itself, in the spontaneity of its action, do good or evil? ...

Christianity works that which is good when it works of itself. It can not do otherwise, except that which is good. From this I draw the immediate conclusion, Christianity is love, Christianity is charity. To do good is its spontaneous germination, ... its fruit. ...

When John sent his disciples to Jesus Christ ... in order to know from His own lips that which he needed to know, they asked our Saviour, "Are you He who is to come, or must we wait for another?" What did the Lord do? He did not answer a single word, according to the Gospel, but in that very same moment, *in ipsa hora*, He healed many of the sick. When this was verified in their presence, he told them, "Behold, tell John that which you have seen. ..." (Mt 11:3-5). ...

What happened at that time is happening now before our eyes.

Men who await I do not know what coming Messiah send their doctors to Christianity to ask, "Are you the religion that we wait for? Religion of the past, Are you still the religion of the future, or must we still wait for another?" Christianity, Gentlemen, like the divine Master, does not answer, it works. It heals the sick, comforts the afflicted, soothes the pain. ... These three expressions make you go from brightness to brightness, from light to light; *de claritate in claritatem*. ...

That which is not love or charity may appear to be beneficial during a short period of time. It can present as sons of love those only that are sons of selfishness. But, to do good always, during nineteen centuries, ... What a marvel! Titus lived but a few days. He was good. However, the story tells us that many times he sighed during the night, "Today I have not done good to any one. I have lost my day!"

Gentlemen, very soon Christianity will have lived two thousand years. It has never been able to say, "Today I have lost my day, I have done no good." No, no, not a single day, not a single hour has passed without being full of the benefits that it has abundantly bestowed upon humanity. ...

Finally, Gentlemen, and as a conclusion to this demonstration, there only remains for me to say that Christianity is doing always and everywhere in all the degrees of the scale of humanity the extension and the fullness of charity in perpetuity. ...

Probe Christianity, Gentlemen, probe Christianity in all its depth, and it will always tell the same story, ... love, love; charity, charity.

Whenever the sun is observed from any point of time and space, it always sends the same thing, ... light and heat. When we look upon it six months later from another point of our earthly orbit, ... What will it send us? Still light and heat. Such is Christianity. ... It is also a sun, and its light is the truth, its light is charity. It also advances as a giant to follow its own path. No one can escape its light or its heat (Ps 19:1). ...

We have a religion that is love, nothing else but love. ... The present century is an abyss of selfishness. Christianity, on the other hand, is an ocean of charity. Let this ocean cover that abyss completely. ... May the divine fire of Christianity consume the frozen heart of the century and society will have been saved. ...

What do we ask of you, Christians? ... Do we ask you to suddenly cut short the flight of industry, or cut off the wings of commerce, or make science retrogress? No, Gentlemen, a thousand times no. Neither do we ask you to break the cart that takes you to public or private gain. Our great evil, our disastrous evil does not consist in that everything has progressed, but in that it has gone the way of selfishness and against humanity. May it all go the way of charity and follow the impulse to benefit humanity itself.

Those of you who unfurl all of your sails, ... you go to sea with a speed and prosperity never seen before towards all of the known and unknown californias of the world. Excellent! You seek gold, and you find gold. However, never forget that you possess the true gold, the pure gold of truth, the divine gold of charity. ... Even in the social sense it is advantageous that you also take and pour your gold everywhere, a gold that is purer and more sublime than the earthly dust.

To travel exclusively to become rich and to enjoy yourselves, I declare unto you in the name of Jesus Christ ... that such a thing is not worthy of us, who are Christians above everything else, children of God above everything else. Tyre did the same thing. Sidon did the same thing. The same was done by Carthage. In God's name, do not permit it to be said that eighteen centuries of Christianity have not had any other moral or physical result than to make of us good citizens of Tyre or adventurous Carthaginians.

No, Gentlemen, no; this should never happen. This can not happen. It is necessary that today truth set sail with the wind of love and charity at the stern in order to arrive at new beaches far away. ... Such is your vocation, to give truth in exchange for gold, spirit in exchange for matter, eternity in exchange for time. That is the vocation to which God has predestined you. That is the call that you have received from on high. It shall be thus because it must be so.

VI. THE OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE CONGRESS

IN A TIME OF PUBLIC MISFORTUNES

This is a very significant sermon. As indicated, it was preached before congress. It also has some very interesting insights about the preacher.

The Preacher

The former sermon indicated a possibility that Torrecilla was a priest preaching to priests or a friar preaching to his brothers. This sermon does not say that he was a Bishop, but who else could be called to preach a sermon during the first session of Congress? Who else could dare to preach a sermon such as this? Besides, towards the end

of the sermon he tries to awaken the consciousness of his fellow priests. For all practical purposes this is the prerogative of a Bishop or of someone with his authority.

The second part of this sermon also indicates that the preacher was not a French preacher. He reminds his listeners of the disgrace suffered by the war heroes that had to flee and found no asylum even when they were consumed by illnesses. This happened to the French army after the defeat of Napoleon. Torrecilla indicates that his listeners saw this from afar in other countries. These statements not only indicate that he was not French, but also that he preached after 1815.

That he was a Spaniard is also seen in this speech. In this same section of this sermon he refers to a time of peace and abundance enjoyed by his listeners. This did not exist any more. In this he is making reference to the time in which Spain enjoyed the blessings of its colonies. All of this happened before 1821. Thus, this sermon must have been preached after this date. He also indicates that all of this prosperity was not used by his people to bring them closer to God, thus they had to suffer His chastisement.

The Sermon

This is a very long sermon. Many portions do not deal too much with social problems. However, others face them quite directly. The outstanding thing is that they were presented in a place in which solutions could be expected in a time of national misfortunes. This was rather common in Spain at this time.

Because of the length of this sermon and the presentation of

other problems in the sermon, the following abbreviation will eliminate larger portions than in the previous sermon. However, those that deal with social issues will be complete.

*Spanish Text*²³

The Bible text for this sermon is Ec 7:10. The abbreviation of the sermon is as follows:

Señores: Nada hay tan ordinario y frecuente en los razonamientos y conversaciones del mundo en este nuestro siglo de tantas tribulaciones y trastornos, como esa queja universal de que nuestra época es desgraciadísima; que no nos queda vestigio alguno de la abundancia y riqueza de nuestros padres; que la naturaleza se va empeorando cada día más y más; que el mundo se debilita, y se resiente por decirlo así de su misma vejez.

Se alegan la intemperie de las estaciones, la esterilidad de la tierra, los horrores de una guerra encarnizada casi universal, los intereses de los ciudadanos sacrificados necesariamente al bien público, las contribuciones e impuestos proporcionados sin duda a las necesidades del Estado, pero gravosas a los particulares. ... Al considerar esto ... se cae en esa tristeza del siglo que según el apóstol obra la muerte ahogando la piedad y cortando los vuelos a la esperanza (2 Co 7:10). ...

Los tiempos, señores, no son buenos en sí ni malos, sino a medida y a proporción que nosotros somos justos o injustos. "Nuestros vicios o nuestras virtudes," dice San Gerónimo, "son los que constituyen los tiempos felices o desgraciados." Así, no nos quejemos de que los tiempos primeros han sido mejores que los nuestros. Quejémonos, sí, de que nosotros no somos tan buenos como los que han vivido antes de nosotros. ...

Sobrado cierto es que no nos queda de los primeros cristianos sino el nombre con que tan justamente nos honramos. ... Palpamos en nuestros días lo que tiene predicho el Evangelio de que casi se apagaría la fe en Israel (Lc 18:8). Pero no es esto, no, lo que tiene desasegadas las gentes del mundo. Piensan, sí, en la miseria, mas no en la malicia de nuestros días. Si gimen en sus aflicciones no es por un dolor que les haga recurrir a Dios, sino por una sensibilidad mundana que les hace echar menos los placeres y bienes que pierden.

²³Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Ceremonias Sagradas*, I (París: Rosa Bouret y Cía., 1851), 278-299.

Levantemos, pues, señores, nuestras almas sobre todo sentimiento humano, y buscando en las reglas del cristianismo la naturaleza y causas de las públicas calamidades, y de los trabajos privados de este tiempo, confesemos de buena fe que proceden de que 1) primero, los hemos acarreado y merecido por nuestros pecados; 2) segundo, no los hacemos llevaderos con nuestras virtudes; y 3) tercero, no los apartamos con nuestras oraciones.

PRIMERA PARTE

Señores: Es una verdad repetida diversas veces en la Sagrada Escritura que nuestros pecados son la causa de todos los males que nos acontecen en esta vida. Dios, ... como dice Tertuliano, "derrama sobre las naciones ingratas y criminales el cáliz de su indignación y justa venganza."

"He dado ya principio al castigo de tus pecados," dice el Señor por boca de uno de sus profetas, "tú sembrarás y no segarás la cosecha; tú prensarás la aceituna y no te dará aceite" (Mich VI:15). ¿Quién enciende guerras contra Jacob? ¿Quién asuela a Israel? "¿No es por ventura el Señor a quien hemos ofendido? No te lesionees de una inocencia imaginaria: yo te haré ver que eres pecador, con los castigos que he de enviar contra tí," dice el Señor por Isaías (cp LXII?). Eso es lo que obliga a decir a San Juan Crisóstomo, "Háblase de tantas y tantas calamidades, y no hay sino una sola, ¡el pecado!" ... Es una calamidad que es el origen de todas las calamidades y de todas las aflicciones que nos sobreviven, y que son saludables castigos que nos envía Dios. Y obra así por muchas razones.

La primera es, porque el pecado procede del apego, el apego procede del placer. ... Es justo, es necesario que sea enderezado el pecador, y que experimente en sí mismo "cuán duro y amargo es haber abandonado al Señor" (Jr II:19).

La razón segunda es porque en el orden de la justicia de Dios la pena y el pecado son dos cosas inseparables. Aquella vara milagrosa de Moisés fue cambiada en serpiente, y Moisés, espantado, huyó de ella. Dios hace en nosotros un prodigio contrario. Nuestros pecados, que son serpientes de la alcuernia de aquel que sedujo a nuestros primeros padres, se cambian en varas para castigarnos, y debiéramos huir de su presencia. ...

La tercera razón es, que conviene a la sabiduría de Dios detener con castigos exteriores y sensibles la impetuosidad de nuestras pasiones. ... Cuán cierto es lo que nos enseña el Espíritu de Dios en sus Sagradas Escrituras, que cuesta gran trabajo salvar a su alma en el seno de la abundancia y de la paz. ... Es menester, pues, señores, para sacar al hombre de estos peligros, hacerle sentir las penas y amarguras de la vida. ...

Ese rico pervertido en su corazón va amontonando siempre, y pone toda su confianza en sus riquezas, tierras y más tierras, bienes y

más bienes. ... Aquel hombre sensual corre atosigado en pos del objeto de su pasión. Su ardiente imaginación lisonjea, fomenta, multiplica sus deseos. ...

Así es, católicos, como Dios sabe detener y poner coto a la carrera de nuestras maldades. Así es como para bien de nuestras almas y logro de nuestra salvación, contrapone al desenfreno del pecado diques saludables, a saber, las adversidades y disgustos de la vida.

Cuarta razón por la cual sigue al pecado el castigo temporal, "El Señor lo ha querido para hacer conocer la santidad y dignidad de su ley santa" (Is LXII). ... Dudaríase no sólo la verdad del mandamiento, sino hasta de la autoridad del Dios que manda. Dudaríase de la fidelidad de la ley en sus promesas, si no se la viese fiel en sus amenazas.

Por esta razón llama justicias muy frecuentemente a los mandamientos del Señor la Escritura Sagrada, no solamente porque contienen las obligaciones y deberes, y porque en su cumplimiento constituyen la felicidad de los justos, sino porque llevan consigo y acarrear los juicios de condenación. ...

Por otra parte, aun cuando los fieles no cometan grandes pecados y crímenes, no dejan de cometer mas o menos faltas que es menester expiar con penas temporales. Es pues justo que participen también de la sociedad de penas; porque van aumentando sucesivamente con un sinnúmero de fragilidades de menor cuantía, esa aglomeración de malicias humanas que acarrear los azotes de Dios, y que producen las calamidades que envía por toda la tierra.

Vienen pues de Dios, y nuestros pecados son la causa. ... Y si no, ¿a qué se imputan ordinariamente las enfermedades, la carestía, las guerras?

Los unos las atribuyen a causas fortuitas. ... Se ponen a consultar como los Filisteos, si han sido castigados por este o el otro azar: *casu accidit* (1 Reg VI), en lugar de confesar con el humilde sacerdote Helí: "Es el Señor." ...

Los otros echan la culpa a la naturaleza y a los elementos, ... *Nunquid in fluminibus iratus es Domine aut in fluminibus furor tuus? aut in mari indignatio tuae* (Hab III). ...

Llega una fiebre maligna a quitaros un hijo, objeto de vuestra ternura y sostén de vuestra familia. El poco cuidado de un criado, la imprudencia de un médico o cirujano, la destemplanza del enfermo, un aire que le dió, y qué sé yo cuantas vanas fatalidades que os ponéis a llamar vuestra estrella, os vienen sin cesar al espíritu.

Escuchadme. Esos bienes mal adquiridos con que queríais aumentar vuestra hacienda; esa funesta indulgencia que teníais respecto de sus vanidades y desenfreno; ese vano cuidado que tomábais de mostrarlos

al mundo sin separar en los lazos que por doquiera se tienden a la inocencia; ese sacrificio que le hacíais de un corazón que no ha de pertenecer sino exclusivamente a Dios; he aquí las verdaderas causas de vuestra aflicción y desgracia. El Señor ha hecho pedazos ese ídolo, e inmolado esa víctima de vuestros pecados a su justicia. ...

Acusáis la prevención o mala disposición del juez, la solicitud de amigos de la parte contraria, tal vez la concusión o el soborno, el crédito o la sorpresa. Acusad más bien a esas injusticias que os ha hecho cometer la avaricia; esos expedientes o cavilaciones que os ha suministrado vuestro espíritu para apoderaros del bien ajeno; esas trampas y lazos que habéis intentado y seguido contra tantos otros. La justicia de Dios os ha condenado a perder esos bienes que os quita por medio del juicio o sentencia de los hombres.

Os quejáis ... y aun os preparáis a decir, "La tierra que pisamos se ha hecho de hierro. El cielo que nos cobija se ha vuelto de bronce" (Dt 23). ...

¡Ah insensatos ciegos! decíais más bien; Buenos han sido los años pasados, y por eso no hemos sido mejores nosotros. Gozado hemos de la sustancia de este mundo, y sin embargo hemos tenido cerradas las entrañas de nuestra misericordia a nuestros hermanos. ...

Esos pecados han abierto estos tesoros de nieve y granizo, dice Job, reservados por la justicia de Dios para asolamiento de los campos (38:22,23). ... La ingratitude para con el bienhechor la ha obligado a cercenar y aun retirar del todo sus beneficios, y la esterilidad de vuestros campos os está echando en cara la esterilidad de vuestra alma.

¿Qué diré yo de esas guerras ...? Retirad, apartad de la escena a ese hombre que lo sacrifica todo a sus intereses, que por medio de resortes secretos de religión y política hace mover esa temible máquina de ligas y confederaciones. ... Quitad este obstáculo del reposo público y todo el mundo vivirá en paz. ... No penséis que ignora Dios los medios de calmar las agitaciones del mundo. ... ¿Por qué no se dice más bien, "quitate del mundo esos pecados que nos acarrearán esos azotes de Dios," y el mundo quedará apaciguado?

¿Qué siglo ha presenciado nunca más inhumanidad, más convulsiones, más carnicería que el nuestro? La mano de Dios se siente por todas partes. ... (Ez XXI:28). La consecuencia que ha de sacarse es que pues los castigos son tan grandes, es menester sin duda alguna que nuestros pecados lo sean también.

¿Hubo jamás mayor corrupción en las costumbres? ... Se ha deslizado en el mundo una desgraciada emulación que lleva a cada uno a distinguirse de sus iguales, a igualarse con los más elevados, a no ceder a nadie. ... ¿Hay nada tan común en el mundo como la envidia? ... La dicha ajena se constituye para el envidioso en objeto de espanto y de tormento.

No hay lugar en la vida privada que no se haga empeño y alarde de descubrirlo para echarlo en cara. No hay circunstancia vergonzosa en las familias que no se saque a claro. ... No hay lunar en la vida privada que no se haga empeño y alarde de descubrirlo para echarlo en cara, no hay circunstancia vergonzosa en las familias que no se saque a claro. ... Se juzga mal no solamente de las acciones, sino hasta de los pensamientos, hasta de las intenciones, profanando así ese santuario que se ha reservado el mismo Dios.

Cada cual se forja e inventa diversa manera de detraer a sus prójimos. Unos asestan un tiro de muerte a la reputación de sus hermanos. ... Otros sazonan sus discursos con palabras lisonjeras y jocosas que encubren el fatal veneno, y no muerde más afilada la lengua de una víbora que la suya. ...

Se ha hecho además común cierto espíritu de irreligión aun entre los mismos que se precian de cristianos. ... El fervor se ha disminuído y disminuye sensiblemente de un modo espantoso. ... Encuéntranse desiertas las iglesias. No se escucha la palabra de Dios sino por el gusto de oír las personas que predicán. ...

A vista de tantos abusos y aun de crímenes, ¿se pregunta porqué alcanzamos tiempos tan malos? ... Yo no os responderé sino lo que debiérais responder vosotros mismos; y es, que nos hemos acarreado estos males con nuestros pecados, y que tratamos de conjurarlos con verdadera sumisión, fe y penitencia; objeto de mi

SEGUNDA PARTE

Dos especies hay, señores, de juicios de Dios en la tierra: Unos, espirituales e invisibles, como la ceguedad del espíritu, ... los otros son juicios exteriores y visibles, como la pérdida, deterioro o menoscabo de bienes. ... Pero aun cuando ambas especies de juicios progengan del mismo origen o causa, producen empero efectos diferentes. Los juicios interiores obran justicia de Dios, y los exteriores son muestras de su misericordia. ... Hay además otra diferencia, y es que los interiores no causan pesar, cuando los exteriores afligen vivamente el sentido. ... Castiga el Señor a un tiempo mismo a Faraón y al Egipto entero. ... No sucede con el Señor omnipotente como con los reyes de la tierra, dice san Agustín. ... Cuando quiere, dice el Profeta, manda su espada que dé la vuelta al mundo, y nos espanta de la misma suerte con los castigos públicos como con los particulares, llamándonos así por ambos medios, como enseña el mismo santo doctor.

Hay pues dos cosas distintas que considerar en la adversidad y tribulaciones: la pena de la presunción ... y la gracia de la vocación. Unas veces nos llama con su gracia, la cual despierta en nuestro corazón una centella de su amor, y hace brillar en nosotros un rayo de su verdad. ... Otras veces nos llama con beneficios y quiere atraernos con lazos de amor y reconocimiento, por la consideración de las recompensas que nos promete o de los dones que nos distribuye. ... Otras veces

nos llama por medio de su palabra y predicación del Evangelio. Pero suceda ordinariamente que se viene al sermón o por casualidad, o por hábito o por curiosidad. No se toman para sí las verdades que se anuncian; y si se desea que el predicador haga imágenes o descripciones de los vicios de la época, es por juzgar del talento de este o de aquel orador. ... Pero el llamamiento de Dios por medio de las aflicciones es más eficaz, porque hace impresiones mas sensibles. ... Está muy puesto en la naturaleza que cuando nos llegue un castigo, apartemos la causa ... con los auxilios interiores con que Dios no deja de favorecernos en medio de nuestras penas.

De todo esto parece natural hubiera de proceder la sumisión, la fe, la penitencia; mas no se ven por desgracia sino quejas y murmuraciones. Cierra en una palabra el cído al cielo; y "he aquí como Dios," dice el profeta, "que nos convida a venir a él, ve a su pueblo que se rehusa de acudir a él, y se deja arrastrar en pos de sus deseos y codicias." *Sed abierunt in voluntatibus et in pravitate cordis sui mali* (Jr 7:24). ...

Padecéis, es verdad, tribulaciones; pero gracias al cielo el azote mas terrible de Dios aun no ha llegado a vuestros tabernáculos, cuando tiene asolados otros de gentes mas justas que nosotros. ... Habéis visto a lo lejos en países vecinos esas tropas de hombres errantes huyendo en derrota a la faz de sus formidables contrarios, sin encontrar siquiera un asilo en donde albergar los restos de un ejército de héroes desgraciados. A lo lejos, no entre vosotros, habéis visto esos ejércitos consumidos por las enfermedades.

Tocados pues vuestros corazones de tamaños desastres acaecidos casi a vuestra puerta, decid, no con tristeza: ... "El Señor hace pasar sobre nosotros el castigo de sus justos juicios." sino con acción de gracias: *Misericordiae Domini quia non sumus consumpti* (Lm 3:22). ... Dios adapta y proporciona sus juicios no a nuestro pecado, sino a nuestra flaqueza. Sabe lo que podemos sobrellevar, y no nos carga mas de lo que pueden nuestras fuerzas (1 Co 10:13). ...

Confieso a la verdad que es muy duro a los vasallos suministrar al orgullo y caprichos de un Roboam la parte mas exquisita de su hacienda. Empobrecerse por un Ezequías que intenta amontonar tesoros para fascinar a embajadores extranjeros con muestras de vana y aun criminal magnificencia (1 Ry 12:1-14; 2 Ry 20:12-19), ... pero en un gobierno constituido bajo un soberano justo, prudente y religioso, es necesario y meritorio sostener con subsidios voluntarios el honor y majestad de la religión y de la república. No es esto un don, un presente que se hace al príncipe; es un socorro que se hace a la sociedad, al pueblo, principisa de las provincias: *Princeps provinciarum* (Lm 1:1), como dice el profeta Jeremías.

Traed, señores, a vuestra memoria aquellos felices tiempos en que la paz reinaba en toda esta vasta república, en que la abundancia la colmaba de ventura y alegría, en que gozábais sin alarma ni zozobra de esos bienes que era tan fácil adquirir, como difícil de perder. ...

Sin embargo tantas bondades, tantas longanimidades, no nos han podido ganar, señores, a Dios. No nos extrañemos pues, ... que el Señor, viendo el sacrílego desperdicio que hacemos de sus bondades, nos visite con sus azotes. ...

"A punto está el mundo de arruinarse," dice san Gerónimo, "y no se dobla la cerviz nuestra." ... En lugar de aprovecharnos de los castigos que providencial y misericordiosamente nos envía el Señor, no hacemos sino méritos para atraernos los mayores; no tratamos de evitarlos, de aplacar la ira del Señor con la enmienda de nuestras costumbres, con el fervor de nuestras oraciones: y esto será el breve asunto de mi

TERCERA PARTE

Perteneciendo siempre nosotros al Señor, sea que nos humille, sea que nos levante, por deber y por conveniencia hemos de vivir en continua sumisión y dependencia de su gracia. ...

La oración es un homenaje que tributamos a Dios, un reconocimiento de su grandeza y de su poderío sobre nosotros. ... Es pues la oración un medio eficaz para corregir nuestras costumbres, alcanzar dones celestiales, sacarnos de nuestras miserias y librarnos de nuestras tribulaciones. ...

¿Cuál es el estado de la mayor parte de los cristianos en tiempos de tribulaciones? No cesan de quejarse, mas sin pensar en reconocerse. Son humillados por necesidad, sin que sean por ello más humildes. ... Así eran aquellos falsos magnánimos, que viendo como Dios arruinaba sus casas, decían con tono altivo y enojoso: "Los ladrillos se han caído, nosotros reedificaremos con sillares; hánse perdido nuestros sicomoros; mas nosotros plantaremos cedros" ... (Is IX:10).

De aquí procede que no recurren jamás a la oración; *Super quo propitius tibi esse potero?* dice el Señor al pecador. ¿Qué bendición me pides; qué perdón? Ora pues. "Yo he excitado tempestad, yo la apaciguaré; mas tú estás como adormecido, como aletargado en medio de un mar borrascoso; y tú dirás: me han herido, y yo no he sentido nada." *Et eris tanquam durmiens in medio maris; et dices: verberaverunt me, et non sensi* (Pr XXIII:34,35).

Aconsejad a estas gentes frías o endurecidas que practiquen buenas obras. Ocupados en los males que padecen, no pueden pensar en el bien que debieran hacer. Exhortadlos a la oración y os responderán como Aarón pronto a ofrecer el sacrificio después de la muerte de sus dos hijos: "¿A qué otra cosa puede pensar sino en sus propias desgracias el que se halla desgraciado?" *Quo modo possumus placere Deo mente lugubri?* ... (Lv 10:1-7).

Accepit Moyses excusationem. ... Mas no se trata aquí de una embarazosa muchedumbre de ceremonias legales. ... Todos esos males en fin padecidos con paciencia, son oraciones no solamente suficientes,

sino útiles y eficaces, ... ¿Porqué no vamos todos a las iglesias a presentar a nuestro Señor Jesucristo corazones contritos y humillados?
...

Hay, señores, tres especies de voces que suben de la tierra al cielo. La voz de la inocencia: y esta es la voz que en la sangre de Abel clamaba al Señor (Gn 4:10). ... La voz del sufrimiento, cuando se lloran sus propias miserias. ... Esas quejas proceden ordinariamente mas bien del amor propio que de compunción del corazón. ... Mas la voz de la oración tiene mas poderío y fuerza para con Dios que las otras dos, y especialmente en tiempo de aflicciones.

Sacerdotes de Jesucristo, ¿qué hacéis pues en el altar cuando ofrecéis ... esa Hostia ... que borra los pecados, y como consecuencia de esto quita del mundo las calamidades que no son sino castigo de aquellos? ...

Por lo que a nosotros toca, oh soberano Señor de cielos y tierra, vednos aquí ante vuestro acatamiento, más de nuestros pecados arrepentidos, que heridos de nuestras calamidades. ... Si necesario es, Señor, que alguno os apacigüe y os contenga, vai aquí postrado ante vuestro divino acatamiento tantos Moisés juntos como legisladores congregados, que levantan hacia el cielo sus corazones purificados y sus manos consagradas. ... Volved pues a tomar vuestro corazón y entrañas de Padre. Decid, mandad al mundo que se calme, y el mundo se tranquilizará. Sois, cuando queréis, el Dios de la paz, o el Dios de los ejércitos. Dad a vuestro pueblo esa paz, mil veces más venturosa y amable que las victorias. Os la pedimos, Señor, no para vivir con mayor licencia, sino para serviros con mayor descanso. No para abusar de las prosperidades y reposos de esta vida, sino para adelantar nuestra propia santificación y merecer el descanso eterno en la eterna. *Amén.*

English Version

Gentlemen: Nothing is more often the subject of conversation in our present world of constant tribulations and disturbances than that universal complaint that our age is most unfortunate, that nothing remains of the abundance and riches of our forefathers. Nature moves from bad to worse. The world is weakening constantly, giving way, as it were, to its very old age.

The rawness of the seasons, the sterility of the earth, the horrors of a bloody and almost universal war, the sacrifice of private interests for public wellbeing, the high taxes that are needed by the state but which hurt the individual so much are all presented as reasons for this situation. ... The consideration of all of this ... brings about that sadness that according to the apostle brings about death, drowning piety and cutting off hope (2 Co 7:10). ...

The seasons are neither good nor bad of themselves except in proportion to our being righteous or unrighteous. "Our vices or our virtues," according to St. Jerome, "are those that make the seasons happy or unpleasant." Thus, let us not complain that the times before our own were better than now. Let us complain that we are not as good as those who have lived before us. ...

It is too true that the only inheritance we have as Christians is that name with which we rightlully honor ourselves. We are living today that which was predicted in the Gospel: that faith would be practically extinguished in Israel (Lk 18:8). However this would be, it is not the reason for the uneasiness of the people of the world. They do think of the misery, but not of the malice of our days. If they moan in their afflictions, it is not because of a pain that brings them back to God, but because of a worldly sensibility that makes them miss their goods and their pleasures.

Let us lift our souls above every human feeling and seek in the rules of Christianity the cause and nature of these public calamities and hardships of these times. Let us confess freely that they come because: 1) first, we have brought them on ourselves because of our sins; 2) second, we do not make them bearable by our virtues; and 3) third, we do not dismiss them by our prayers.

FIRST PART

Gentlemen: Time and time again the Scriptures repeat that our sins are responsible for all of the evil things that befall us in this life. Tertullian says that "God pours upon the ungrateful and criminal nations the wrath of His indignation and just vengeance."

"I have already begun to punish you for your sins," says the Lord through one of His prophets. "You shall sow and not reap. You shall press the olive and have no oil" (Mich. VI:15). Who ignites wars against Jacob? Who devastates Israel? "Is it not, perhaps, the Lord whom we have offended? Do not boast of false innocence. I shall make you see that you are a sinner with the chastisements that I will send you." This is the message of the Lord through Isaiah (Ch. LXII?). This is what makes St. John Chrysostom say, "They speak of so many afflictions, when there is but one, sin!" ... One affliction brings about all of the afflictions and calamities which we suffer. These are healthy punishments sent by God. It works like this for many reasons.

The first, because sin originates in attachment. Attachment begins with pleasure. ... The sinner must be straightened. He must know by personal experience how painful it is for him to have abandoned the Lord (Jr II:19).

The second reason is that in the order of God's righteousness suffering and sin are inseparable. Moses' miraculous rod was transformed into a serpent. Terrified, he fled from it. God performs the opposite miracle for us. Our sins, serpents of the lineage of the one

that seduced our forefathers, transform themselves into rods for our punishment. We must flee from their presence. ...

The third reason is that it suits the wisdom of God to hinder the impetuosity of our passions through exterior and sensible punishments. ... How true is that which the Spirit of God teaches us in the Sacred Scriptures, that it is not easy to save a soul in the midst of riches and peace. ... In order to take a person out of these dangers it is necessary to make him feel the suffering and bitterness of life. ...

That perverted rich person always accumulates more. He puts all of his trust in riches, lands and goods. ... That sensual person is always running after the object of his passion. His ardent imagination flatters, instigates and multiplies his desires. ...

This is the way God restrains our iniquities. This is the way in which He places salutary dikes to stop our unbridled sinfulness. These are the adversities and trials of life.

The fourth reason for which temporal punishment follows sin is that "This is the will of the Lord to make known the nobility and dignity of His holy law" (Is LXII). ... Otherwise, the truthfulness of the commandment would be doubted as well as the faithfulness of the law in its promises if it were not faithful in its chastisements.

Because of this Holy Scriptures often use the term righteousness for the commandments of the Lord, not only because they contain the obligations and the duties, not only because in their fulfillment is found the happiness of the righteous, but also because they carry with them the judgments of condemnation.

On the other hand, even though believers may not commit great sins and crimes, they still commit transgressions that must be expiated with temporal chastisements. ... It is therefore just that they also participate in the sufferings of society, since these increase with the uncountable frailties of lesser rank, that conglomeration of human mistakes that bring about God's chastisements and produce the calamities that He sends throughout the earth.

Thus, they come from God, and our sins are responsible. ... If this is not so, Why illnesses, scarcity and war?

There are those that attribute them to fortuitous causes. ... Like the Philistines, they consult the reason for their punishment: *casu accidit* (1 Reg VI), rather than confessing with the humble priest Eli: "It is the Lord." ...

Others blame nature and the elements. ... *Nunquid in fluminibus iratus es Domine aut in fluminibus furor tuus? aut in mari indignatio tua* (Hab. III). ...

A malignant fever deprives you of a son, object of your love and support of your family. The carelessness of a servant, the imprudence of a physician or a surgeon, the intemperance of the sick, a breeze, and how many other vain fatalities that you call your star constantly come to your spirit.

Listen. Those ill gained profits with which you sate to increase your property; that unfortunate indulgence of vanity; that futile concern you had to exhibit them to the world without undoing the cords that bind you to innocence; that sacrifice rendered them that belongs only to God; these are the true causes of your affliction and disgrace. The Lord has broken that idol. He has offered that victim of your sins to His righteousness. ...

You blame the bad disposition of the judge, the requests of friends of the other side, probably even bribes, credit or surprise. You should rather blame those injustices that you have committed because of your selfishness; those dishonest procedures that your spirit has led you to follow in order to acquire that which belonged to someone else; those snares that you have used against so many persons. God's righteousness has condemned you to lose those goods that He takes away from you through man's justice.

You complain ... and you are even prepared to say, "the ground we tread on has become iron. The heaven that covers us brass" (Dt 23). ...

Blind fools! You should rather say, "The past years have been good, and because of that we have not been better. We have enjoyed the abundance of this world. However, we have closed the bowels of our mercy to our brethren. ...

Job states that those sins have opened these treasures of snow and hail, reserved by God's righteousness for the devastation of the fields (38:22,23). ... The lack of appreciation to the provider has made Him withdraw His benefits completely. The sterility of your fields is indicative of the sterility of your souls.

What can I say of those wars ...? Withdraw from the scenario the man who sacrifices everything for his own interests, who using secret resources of religion and politics moves the machinery of leagues and confederations. ... Withdraw this obstacle of public peace, and all of the world will live in peace. ... Don't ever think that God does not know the means of bringing to a halt all of the restlessness of the world. ... Why is it not said, "Take away all of those sins that bring about all of those chastisements of God," and the world will be at peace?

What century has witnessed more inhumanity, more convulsions and slaughter than ours? God's hand is felt everywhere. ... (Ez XXI: 28). We must conclude; therefore, that since the punishments are so

great, the sins that bring them about, our sins, are extremely great also.

Has there ever been a greater corruption of habits? ... The world has seen an unfortunate emulation that makes everybody differ from their equals, and to attempt to be like those of higher standing, not giving in to anybody. ... Is there anything that is more common in the world than envy? ... Another person's joy becomes a torment to the envious. ...

Nothing in private life is so secret that it will not be discovered and used to bring shame upon others. Nothing shameful among families is not made public. ... There is no birthmark in private life that must not be discovered; ... Not only actions, but even thoughts and intentions are judged. The sanctuary that God Himself has kept for Himself is profaned.

Every one looks for a way to detract his neighbors. Some fire a mortal shot at the reputation of their brethren. ... Others spice their discourses with flattery that hides the fatal poison. A serpent's mouth does not bite harder than the mouth of these persons.

A spirit of irreligiousness has become common even among those who pride themselves with being Christians. ... Religious fervor has been surprisingly diminished. ... Churches are abandoned. The word of God is heard only because of the satisfaction of hearing the preacher. ...

In the face of so many crimes, we still ask ourselves why times are so bad. ... I will not answer this question that should be answered by yourselves. That is, we have carried upon ourselves these evils with our sins. We must endeavor to exorcise them with true submission, faith and penance, the subject of my

SECOND PART

There are two kinds of judgements of God upon the earth. Some are spiritual and invisible, such as blindness of the spirit. ... Others are exterior and visible, such as the loss, deterioration or reduction of goods. ... Even when both types of judgements come from the same origin or cause, they produce different effects. The interior judgements bring about God's righteousness. The exterior are a manifestation of His mercy. ... There is also another difference. This is that the interior do not cause sorrow, while the exterior ones afflict the senses. ... The Lord punishes Pharaoh and all of the Egyptian nation at the same time. ... It is not the same with the Omnipotent Lord as with the kings of the earth, according to St. Augustine. ... Whenever He wants, says the Prophet, He sinds His sword around the world and terrifies us with both public and private punishments. He calls us using both means, as taught by the same holy doctor.

This means that there are two different things that must be

considered in relationship to adversity and tribulations; the pain of presumption ... and the grace of vocation. He sometimes calls us with His grace, which leaves in our hearts a spark of His love, and causes a beam of His truth to shine within us. ... At other times He calls us with blessings, to attract us with bonds of love and recognition, considering the rewards that He promises us or the things He gives us. ... Other times He calls us through His Word and the preaching of the Gospel. However, we generally come to the sermon by chance, habit or curiosity. The truths that are preached are not taken personally, and if there is any desire that the preacher describe the vices of the age, it is to judge his talent as a speaker. ... However, the call that God makes through affliction is more effective, since it makes more sensitive impressions. ... It is human nature to separate the cause from the punishment ... by the inner assistances with which God helps us in the midst of our pains.

It seems natural that the result of all of this should be submission, faith, penance, but unfortunately only complaints and gossip are seen. The ear is closed to heaven, and "behold," says the prophet, "how God who invites us to come to Him, sees His people refusing to go to Him, and allowing itself to be dragged by its desires and covetousness." *Sed abierunt in voluntatibus et in pravitate cordis sui mali* (Jr 7:24). ...

It is true that you suffer afflictions, but thanks be to heaven that the worse chastisement of God has not come to your tabernacles, while He has devastated others who are more righteous than we are. ... You have seen from afar in neighboring countries those troops fleeing after being defeated, without even finding an asylum in which to shelter the remnants of an army of disgraced heroes. From afar, and not in your midst, you have seen those armies consumed by illness.

With hearts touched by such great disasters taking place almost at your doorsteps, say, not with sorrow, ... "The Lord brings upon us the punishment of His righteous judgements," but with thankfulness, *Misericordiae Domini quia non sumus consumpti* (Lm 3:22). ... God adapts and provides His judgements not according to our sin, but taking into account our weakness. He knows how much we can take, and He does not give us more than we can bear (1 Co 10:13).

I must confess that it is not easy for vassals to give a Rehoboam the best part of their belongings (1 K 12:1-14), to become impoverished for a Hezekiah who wants to accumulate treasures in order to fascinate foreign ambassadors with a vain and even criminal magnificence (2 K 20:12-19): ... But in a government that has been constituted under a righteous, prudent and religious sovereign, it is necessary and worthy to support the honor and majesty of religion and country through voluntary subsidies. This is not a gift that is made to the prince. It is an aid to society, to the people, the princess of the province: *Princeps provinciarum* (Lm 1:1), according to the prophet Jeremiah.

Remember those happy days in which peace reigned in all of this

great land, when abundance brought joy, when you enjoyed without any fear those goods attained with such ease and almost impossible to lose. ... In spite of so many manifestations of kindness and goodness, these could not win us to God. Thus, we should not be surprised that as ... the Lord saw such a sacrilegious waste of His kindness, He visits us with His punishments. ...

"The world is about to be ruined," says St. Jerome, "and our brow does not bow." ... Instead of making good use of the punishments that the Lord providentially and mercifully sends us, we only work to bring others upon us that are even greater. We do not try to avoid them, to placate the wrath of the Lord with the amendment of our ways, with the sincerity of our prayers. This will be the brief subject of my

THIRD PART

Since we always belong to the Lord, even if He humbles us or lifts us up, it is our duty and convenience to live always in submission and dependance on His grace. ...

Prayer is homage we give God. A recognition of His greatness and power over us. ... Thus, prayer is an efficient way to correct our ways, reach heavenly gifts, take us out of our miseries and deliver us from our tribulations. ...

What happens to the majority of Christians in times of tribulation? They constantly complain, without taking into account their own weaknesses. Necessity humbles them, but they are not as humble as they should be. ... Those false magnanimous persons were like that, who saw the manner in which God ruined their homes and boasted, "The bricks have fallen, we shall rebuild with rocks; our sycamores have been lost, we shall plant cedars" ... (Is IX:10).

Because of this they never pray. *Super quo propitius tibi esse potero?*, says the Lord to the sinner. What blessing or forgiveness do you seek? Pray, therefore, "I have aroused the tempest, I will calm it. But you are asleep, as drowsy in the midst of a tempestous sea. You will say, 'I have been wounded and I have not felt anything'." *Et eris tanquam dormiens in medio maris; et dices: verberaverunt me, et non sensi* (Pr XXIII: 34,35).

Counsel these indifferent and hardened persons to good works. Worried about their bad luck, they cannot think about the good that they should do. Exhort them to prayer, and they will answer as Aaron, ready to sacrifice after the death of his sons, "In what other thing can I think except the unhappiness of my disgrace? *Quo modo possum placere Deo mente lugubri?*" ... (Lv 10:1-7).

Accepit Moyses excusationem. ... However, reference is not made here to an embarrassing amount of legal ceremonies. ... all of those evil experiences suffered with patience are prayers, worthy,

allsufficient and efficient, ... Why do we not go to the churches to present to our Lord Jesus Christ contrite and humble hearts? ...

There are three kinds of voices that ascend from earth to heaven. The voice of innocence, and this is the voice of the blood of Abel that cried to the Lord (Gn 4:10). ... The voice of suffering, when personal miseries are lamented. ... Those complaints more often than not come from a heart full of self pity rather than of compunction. ... However, the voice of prayer is stronger with God than the other two, even more in time of affliction.

Priests of Jesus Christ, What do you do at the altar when you offer ... that Host ... that takes away sins, and thus makes the afflictions of the world, chastisement for them, to disappear? ...

As far as we are concerned, Almighty Lord of heaven and earth, we bow before Thy presence, more repentant from our sins than wounded by our afflictions. ... If it is necessary for someone to contain Thy wrath, see all the many Moseses here present in as many legislators as are present here lifting to Thee their cleansed hearts and consecrated hands. ... Turn once again to act from your heart and deal with us mercifully as a Father. Speak, order the world to calm itself, and it will have peace. Whenever it is Thy will, Thou art the God of peace or the God of hosts. Grant to Thy people this peace, a thousand times more fortunate and loving than victories in war. We request these things, o Lord, not in order to live more licentiously, but to serve You with more restfulness. Not in order to misuse prosperity and repose in this life, but in order to advance our own sanctification and deserve eternal rest in the ternal life. Amen.

VII. EVANGELICAL SOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

OF IMMODERATE RICHES AND THE GROWTH OF POVERTY

Such a title brings great expectations. However, it must be borne in mind that this sermon was preached in the nineteenth century. It is very meaningful to consider that this problem was vaced and recognized at that time.

Torrecilla does not preach a solution to the problem of poverty. He even indicates that such a thing does not exist. This is still true today, when poverty exists in both communistic and rich capitalistic nations.

The basic proposition of this sermon is that the rich must provide dignity to the poor and the poor must love the rich. He does not deny that the rich must share their wealth with the poor. This is stated clearly in the third section of this sermon. Christian action must move the rich to share as much as possible with the poor. However, this must be done within the framework not only of human but of Christian dignity toward the poor, and the acceptance of their response of Christian love.

Even though the solution to the problem of poverty does not coincide with the solution of Liberation Theology, it is important to notice that this problem was being faced and recognized in the preaching of the nineteenth century. At a time when even Christian solutions to the problem of poverty include militancy, a solution such as the one presented in this sermon has its place. On the other hand, even when the poor receive their sustenance from an impersonal government that has taken it from the rich through taxation, this love and dignity between these two classes is completely lost. The human worth of the poor must be coupled with the human worth of the rich. What is more, it should not be only human, but divine.

In the first section of his sermon Torrecilla made two statements that could even be considered prophetic. One was that atheism dispossessed the poor of the last thing they had, the love and dignity that Jesus Christ had given them. The other one was that if this dignity was ignored, another war would follow, which would be worse than the one they had witnessed, the French Revolution.

The atheism that he witnessed was small compared to that which

has followed since his day. Today's atheism has taken Christian principles in order to provide materially for the poor, but without Christian dignity. At the same time, the revolution between the classes has also followed at least the Russian Revolution and all of the communistically inspired wars throughout the earth. Besides, the two great world wars have had their social aspects and motivations. All of these armed conflicts have dwarfed the French Revolution. Certainly, these two predictions of Torrecilla have been fulfilled to the utmost.

*Spanish Text*²⁴

Señores: El problema tan difícil del enriquecimiento inmoderado en la humana sociedad no tiene ni puede tener solución material y puramente científica, porque tanto la naturaleza humana como la historia, y aun la tierra desde el fondo de sus entrañas, nos dicen que la incógnita tan ansiosa e inquietamente buscada por los sabios del siglo es un imposible.

No, Señores; aun cuando el cristianismo y la economía social se dieran la mano, lo que yo pienso inevitable, no podrán hacer desmentir la profecía del Salvador: *Pauperes semper habetis vobiscum*: "Siempre ha de haber pobres" (Jn 12:18). Luego, para aquellos a quienes no será capaz de sacar de la pobreza ninguna solución material por mas ingeniosa que se la suponga, esles manifiestamente necesaria otra solución, una solución que llamaremos evangélica, moral, cristiana.

¿Y cuál es esta solución? Vedla aquí, señores: hacer ... una transformación tal que el pobre encuentre en una riqueza superior compensación a su inferioridad material; de suerte que los desheredados de la materia puedan sin embargo no creerse desheredados de felicidad. En esto consiste ... la gran solución, y que será el asunto de esta conferencia. Jesucristo solo tiene ... el secreto verdaderamente divino de darnos esta solución. ...

PRIMERA REFLEXION

Es menester que nos hagamos bien cargo en primer lugar, que la necesidad material está muy lejos de ser la necesidad mayor y suprema nuestra humanidad. El hombre respecto de su cuerpo, tiene necesidad de

²⁴Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Tratados Morales*, III (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1851), 44-57

pan, y la privación del pan es para él un padecimiento físico; el hombre, respecto de su alma, tiene necesidad de dignidad, de ensanche, de grandeza, y la privación de estas sublimes prendas es para él un padecimiento mucho mayor que el anterior.

Sepámoslo bien, señores; esta necesidad de aprecio y estimación que todos experimentamos, la siente y experimenta muy vivamente el pobre bajo sus remiendos que parecen insultar su cuerpo mas bien que cubrirlo, y aun lo siente con tanta mas razón que no sintiéndose en sí la consideración que viene de las cosas materiales, él se apega mas a este aprecio, a esa necesidad de respeto común, como un náufrago se agarra a todo lo que se le escapa. ...

Ahora bien, señores, ¿hay acaso algo que satisfaga a esta necesidad en el orden humano? ... El hombre que no sea transformado por Jesucristo no tiene para el pobre sino desdén, repugnancia, menosprecio. Nosotros, cristianos no podemos acabar de comprender esto, porque desde la infancia se nos ha enseñado a respetar al pobre, y aun a mirarle con predilección. Pero ese fenómeno social es, señores, una realidad histórica, y aun una realidad presente en aquellos que hayan sacudido el imperio de la fe y sustraído a la influencia de la caridad cristiana.

Por lo que toca a la historia, yo apelo a toda la antigüedad pagana. ... Se ve constantemente que esta antigüedad tenía abrumado al pobre bajo dos despotismos a la vez: el del orgullo y el del egoísmo. ... Tenemos miedo de parecer pobres ... y ese lujo con que se rebozan ciertas pobreza para encubrir su miseria, no es otra cosa sino una divisa brillante con la cual ciertas gentes desacomodadas parece dicen a los que los miran pasar: sabed que el que todavía puede llevar tal vestido no puede ser un pobre.

No podemos ignorar que este siglo adora la riqueza, ... y lo que encontramos aquí en las clases elevadas, lo encontramos en las medianas y en las de la plebe. ... ¿No estáis viendo que para esquivar esta dificultad, para crear cierta dignidad al pobre, es absolutamente necesario cambiar a sus ojos la idea de la pobreza? ...

Señores, si el rico no mira más arriba de este mundo, ¿qué podrá responder? Sólo puede responder: en vano intentas, hermano, ser tan grande como yo. Mira; he aquí mi parte de materia: dime, ¿dónde tienes tú la tuya? ... Ahora bien; el siglo actual ¿hace algo por la transformación de estas ideas? ...

Hemos sentido que el progreso de la ciencia, el éxito de la ciencia sensualista había desarrollado la pobreza paralelamente a la riqueza. ... ¿Qué se hace, si no, descientos años há en ciertas regiones de la ciencia? ¿No veis que se está trabajando precisamente en desheredar al pueblo de su dignidad y grandeza? No hace todavía un siglo, ¿es que no ha tomado cierta escuela filosófica especial empeño de arrancar al pueblo lo que constituye vuestra felicidad y la mía, a Jesucristo Salvador de los hombres? Se ha intentado enseñar al pueblo

que podía pasarse muy bien sin Jesucristo; y de ese modo no se daba en que al propio tiempo que perdía a Jesucristo, perdía también la materia; y que perdiendo a Jesucristo y a la materia, se le arrancaba de sus manos la sola herejía que hubiera podido grangearle en el mundo honor, veneración, respeto. ...

¡Infelices malvados! todo me lo han robado. Me han robado los bienes. Me han robado el respeto. Me han robado la moral. Me han robado la gracia de Jesucristo que sólo puede darme el amor y aprecio de mis hermanos. ... Y pues que nadie viene al socorro mío, ... yo alargaré mi brazo, yo iré a tomarlos por mi cuenta. ...

¿Qué se puede responder humanamente a estas quejas, señores? Vosotros y yo lo ignoramos. Si no nos quedara otra cosa que decir, tendríamos que resignarnos a la borrasca que llegará mañana, después de habernos casi milagrosamente salvado de la tormenta de ayer. ... Pero no, no sucede así, gracias a Dios; y no tendrá que haber vencidos porque no habrá guerra, si es que sabemos comprendernos bien a nosotros mismos, y sobre todo, si sabemos hacer que descienda al corazón de las muchedumbres ese divino secreto de Jesucristo de que voy a hablaros en mi

SEGUNDA REFLEXION

Si el pobre pudiera decir al rico: "Verdad es; tu parte de materia ... es mayor que la mía, y bajo este respecto y con este título tú tienes también parte mayor y títulos más ventajosos acá bajo para lograr el aprecio y consideración que los hombres se convienen en adjudicar. Pero sábetelo que la materia no es toda la realidad; sábetelo que sobre este mundo hay otro en el cual tengo yo otro oro más puro y acendrado que el tuyo, en el cual tengo yo otra riqueza mayor y más pura que la tuya, una grandeza que sobrepuja a tu grandeza."

Si el pobre puede dar esta respuesta, ya comprendéis, señores, que desde el punto mismo en que la haga con la certidumbre que le presta la fe, puede restablecerse el equilibrio; y conocéis también que el pobre, aun en este mundo, puede hallar una compensación inmensa que le haga aceptar con gusto y magnanimidad la pobreza. ...

Cuando llegó la hora en que Dios había de realizar la restauración del mundo sobrenatural, ... dijo Dios: "Yo voy a obrar una reacción contra esa tendencia de los hombres. ... Yo, Criador de todas las cosas; yo, Autor de toda riqueza, voy a aparecer en la tierra en desnudez absoluta de toda cosa criada; y desde el seno de esa misma desnudez y desprendimiento, yo haré nacer un mundo nuevo, yo haré descender de mí una jerarquía nueva, y en ese mundo y en esa jerarquía, el primer título para ser grande será el ser pequeño; y el primer título para poseer mucho, será el no tener nada."

Y dijo Dios, señores: *Fiat!* "Hágase así"; y así fue hecho (Gn 1:3). *Et Verbum caro factum est.* "El Verbo se hizo carne, y habitó entre nosotros" (Jn 1:14). Y de repente se hace oír una palabra nunca

oída, extraordinaria, nueva, sorprendente: *Emmanuel! Nobiscum Deus:* "Dios está con nosotros" (Mt 1:23). ... ¿En dónde está? ...

Vamos a Belén; ... allí en donde no queda ya nada de riqueza. ... Vamos a adorarle en el último grado de la humanidad, y aun más bajo todavía (Fil 2:6-11). ... "He aquí a Dios; aquí está Dios en un establo; aquí está Dios entre pajas y heno (Lc 2:15,16). He aquí a un Dios pobre. ... El que todo lo tiene, no tiene ya nada. *Ecce mysterium dico* (1 Tm 3:16). Ved al autor de toda riqueza en absoluta desnudez y privación de toda riqueza, y como a tal haciéndose el autor de la gracia. ¡Misterio de su nacimiento! ¡misterio de su vida! ¡misterio de su muerte! ¡misterio de su muerte sobre todo! ... En esta cruz ... va a desposeerse, y en su despojo absoluta va a desposarse para siempre jamás con la pobreza divina (2 Co 8:9). Desde esta cruz él irá a tomaros y atraeros a él. ... Atrae hacia sí mismo la humanidad, desarrolla en el mundo una jerarquía en donde la grandeza crece en proporción directa de la humillación (Mr 9:35), y en donde la riqueza crece en proporción del despojo de sí mismo. ... Busca y escoge a los hombres más formados a Su imagen. ... Los apóstoles serán todos pobres....

Ved, señores, el gran designio de nuestro Señor Jesucristo. ¿Podía hacer más? Sí, señores; y ved la última palabra de esta obra maestra en donde apareció por la vez primera la transfiguración de la pobreza.

No se ha contentado el Reparador divino con enriquecer al pobre en graduación de lo que se acerque a El, sino que ha querido además cubrirlo con el manto de Su divina majestad, con la investidura de Sus derechos. El tiene dicho: "El pobre es otro yo. Lo que hagáis por uno de los mas pequeños de entre mis pobres, a mí es a quien lo habréis hecho" (Mt 25:40). ...

Señores, nos hallamos actualmente en esos días críticos en que la inteligencia de la pobreza y la inteligencia de la riqueza nos amenazan desastres grandes; y sólo se podrá realizar la armonía en la transfiguración enseñada por la luz de nuestro Señor Jesucristo. Y en efecto, señores, si me prestáis todavía vuestra atención durante cortos instantes, veréis cómo el secreto de la doctrina católica nos explica el secreto de la armonía social, el dulce misterio de la fraternidad que tanto ansiáis saber, y que será el asunto de mi

TERCERA REFLEXION

convendréis sin duda alguna, señores, que una de las mayores dificultades de este tiempo es, de un lado, el menosprecio de los grandes por los pequeños, y del otro, la envidia de los pequeños a los grandes. Ahora bien, la inteligencia de la doctrina católica, de una y otra parte hace caer de un lado el desprecio, y del otro la envidia, produciendo entre el rico y el pobre una reciprocidad de aprecio y de veneración. ...

El rico que ha visto al pobre en la aureola de Jesucristo,

cuando se ve tentado a menospreciarla, se encuentra en su corazón y en su entendimiento con una secreta y soberbia impotencia de hacerlo. El se dice: "el pobre es hermano mío." Y aun todavía más: "el pobre es el mismo Jesucristo." ...

Para el cristiano que tiene, que posee la verdadera inteligencia de la pobreza, despreciar al pobre, señores, no es solamente una injusticia, no es solamente un crimen, un atentado; es además un sacrilegio. Mientras que en virtud del principio divino cae por tierra el menosprecio, cae también la envidia. ...

El pobre respeta una superioridad muy real; pero mira en sí mismo también una superioridad real. ... Y por cuanto esta grandeza está y reside en él enteramente gratuita, el pobre la puede reconocer en sí mismo sin agrandarse desmesuradamente; y aun puede, sin caer en orgullo, huir de la envidia.

Salid de ese divino principio, señores; salid del cristianismo, y con la envidia en el corazón del pobre ... hallaréis o bien un orgullo que se levanta y ensoberbece, o bien una abyección que se abate y amilana. ... El pobre que conoce a Jesucristo no se ensoberbece, no se abaja, queda lo que es; grande en Jesucristo, que es la más sólida grandeza.

Mas hay otro mal entre las dos fracciones económicas de la sociedad; y lo constituyen esos odios engendrados precisamente por el desprecio y por las envidias. Y bien, señores, ¿cómo podrían hacer frente esos odios ante nuestro principio soberano? ...

Cuando el grande, cuyo corazón se ha apasionado a Jesucristo, ha visto al pobre, y en el rostro del pobre trasluce vivamente un rayo salido del divino rostro de Cristo, ... el rico ama al pobre con todo el amor de que se ve poseído hacia Jesucristo. ... Dieciocho siglos ha, señores, que dió cumplimiento a este prodigio nuestro divino Maestro. Este prodigio se va a todos los grados de la jerarquía social buscando corazones, y los va llenando de su amor. ... Cuando el corazón de un grande ha quedado así prendido ... entonces acabo de comprender y ese fenómeno, no solamente inaudito, sino imposible fuera del cristianismo, el rico teniendo para con el pobre una ternura verdadera y profundamente simpática. Yo acabo de comprender entonces ese amor que lo hace ir apasionadamente en busca del pobre para estrecharlo entre sus brazos fraternales.

Y el pobre, señores, ... ¿no veis que él tiene necesidad de amar dos veces en el rico a ese Dios que le envía por su órgano no solamente la estimación, el aprecio, el respeto, sino lo que es todavía más placentero que estas tres cosas, la ternura y el amor. De aquí, señores, ese fenómeno humano que se ha visto realizar tan frecuentemente en nuestras obras de fe. Poblaciones numerosas de pobres unidas a los ricos ... con cadenas de amor y de ternura gratural que el corazón de los ricos y el corazón de los pobres se enlazan juntamente en derredor del corazón de Cristo. ...

De suerte que en estas dos jerarquías, en las cuales todo se encadena maravillosamente, cada cual tiene a la vez el deber de dar y la obligación de recibir. La verdadera grandeza consiste principalmente y ante todo en depender y servir a profía. ...

Señores, yo dejo a vuestra seria meditación estos dos pensamientos que serán como la coronación de cuanto acabo de exponeros. La acción cristiana entre el rico y el pobre se reduce a estas dos cosas: a hacer que el rico franquee cuanto pueda de sus tesoros al pobre ... y hacer que el pobre por su lado franquee al rico los tesoros de gracias que posee en nombre de Cristo. ...

En nuestros siglos de fe, hubo una ilustre princesa a quien Dios había hecho don de riquezas terrestres y de celestiales riquezas. ... En sus días de grandeza y prosperidad, esta admirable mujer ... bajaba con frecuencia de la cima del collado donde estaba su palacio, e iba a una aldea pequeña fundada al pie del collado, y allí con sus ilustres manos servía en hospitales fundados con sus larguezas a los pobres a quienes llamaba sus hermanitos. ...

Volviendo cierto día a su palacio, se le cerraron las puertas, y se vió a la hija de reyes volver a bajar aquella misma colina; pero no trayendo ya otro tesoro que la miseria y sus pequeñuelos hijos. ... Fuése en seguida a llamar de puerta en puerta; dirigióse en primer lugar a las puertas por donde tantos tesoros había introducido para socorro de pobres y desvalidos; pero el terror y la tiranía le habían precedido, y el egoísmo había cerrado las puertas, y lo que era peor, el corazón de los hombres.

La real bienhechora de los pobres ni siquiera pudo encontrar un asilo para ella y sus tiernos niños. Un sólo albergue se abrió para ella; ... tan abajado, que no se le puede nombrar. Cuando se vió allí, ella, hija y nieta de reyes, Isabel reina de Ungría, ... fue visitada por un recuerdo de Belén. De repente vió a su alma sumergida no en dolores, sino en gozos inefables. Oyendo tocar la campana de un monasterio contiguo, se levantó y fue a decir a los montes, "Cantad el *Tedeum* para bendecir al Señor en mi absoluto abandono y desnudez. ...

Señores, ved el gran misterio. Como Isabel, si sois ricos, abrid vuestras ... manos para tributar al pobre respeto, amor, servicios. Si la providencia divina permite que seais pobres, sabed también, al través del prisma de la fe y la luz de Jesucristo, sabed encontrar bastante dicha para rezar al Señor el *Tedeum* de una pobreza feliz.

English Version

Gentlemen: The difficult problem of immoderate enrichment in human society cannot have a merely materialistic and scientific solution. Human nature, history and the earth itself tell us that the

solution that is so anxiously sought by the wise of the century is impossible.

No, Gentlemen, even if Christianity and social economy joined hands, which I consider inevitable, they still would not be able to belie the Saviour's prophecy: *Pauperes semper habetis vobiscum*: "There shall always be poor" (Jn 12:8). Thus, for those who cannot be taken out of poverty even with the most ingenious solution that may be formulated, it is absolutely necessary to find another solution. This is a solution that we shall call evangelical, moral and Christian.

What is this solution? Behold, Gentlemen, it is to perform ... such a transformation that the poor may find in a superior kind of riches compensation for economic inferiority. Thus, those that are materially disinherited may not consider themselves disinherited of happiness. This is the basis of the great solution, the subject of this lecture. Only Jesus Christ has ... the divine secret that solves this problem.

FIRST REFLECTION

It is necessary to consider first of all that material goods are far from being the greatest need of our humanity. Concerning his body, man needs bread. The lack of it is a physical hardship. Concerning his soul, man needs dignity, enlargement and greatness. Deprivation of these sublime benefits is a far greater hardship than the lack of the former.

We should be aware that this need of appreciation and esteem that all of us have is vividly felt by the poor under his torn garments that seem to insult rather than cover his body. Since he does not enjoy material wealth, he needs this even more, as a castaway grasps at anything on which he can escape. ...

Is there anything that may satisfy this need of mankind? ... The man that has not been transformed by Jesus Christ gives the poor only contempt, disgust and scorn. As Christians we cannot understand this, since from childhood we have been taught to respect the poor, and even to look upon them with special favor. However, that social phenomenon is a historic reality. It is even a present reality among those who have left the faith and departed from Christian charity.

As far as history is concerned, I appeal to all of pagan antiquity. ... It is constantly seen that antiquity trampled upon the poor in two ways at the same time, with pride and selfishness. ... We are afraid to appear poor. ... That luxury used to cover certain manifestations of misery is only a brilliant device with which certain people seem to be saying to those that see them go by, "Know that whoever is dressed like this cannot be poor."

We cannot ignore that this present century worships wealth. ...

What we find here in society, we also find in the middle classes and even among the common people. ... Can't you see that in order to avoid this difficulty, to create certain dignity for the poor, it is absolutely essential to change in their eyes the idea of poverty? ...

What will the rich be able to answer if they do not look above this world? They can only answer, "My brother, it is worthless for you to try to be as great as I am. Look at part of my belongings. Tell me, Where are yours?" ... Does the present century do anything for the transformation of these ideas?

We have proved that the progress of science, the success of science had developed poverty together with riches. ... What has been developing in scientific circles during the last two hundred years? Don't you see that an effort is being made to disinherit the people of their dignity and worth? ... Is it not true that a special effort has been made during the last century to take away from the people through a philosophical school that which is the happiness of all, our belief in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of humanity? An effort has been made to teach the people that it is possible to live very well without Jesus Christ. They did not take into account that while Jesus Christ was being lost, the good they sought was also being lost. Losing Jesus Christ and that good they lost the only inheritance that would have been able to grant them in the world honor, veneration and respect. ...

Wretched robbers! They have taken away everything. They stole my goods. They stole my respect. They stole my dignity. They stole the grace of Jesus Christ, the only thing that is capable of providing me the love and esteem of my brethren. ... Since no one comes to my aid, ... I will take care of them myself. ...

What can humanly be the answer to these complaints? You and I ignore it. If nothing else could be said, we should have to be resigned to tomorrow's tempest, after we barely were saved from yesterday's storm. ... Thank God, it does not have to be so. No one will have to be defeated, since there will be no war, if we know how to understand ourselves correctly. Above all, if we know how to bring to the multitudes the divine secret of Jesus Christ, the topic of my

SECOND REFLECTION

If the poor could say to the rich, "It is true. Your share of material things is greater than mine. Because of this you have greater honors and titles given by men. However, you must know that material goods do not represent the whole of reality. In this world there is something else in which I have greater and purer gold than that which belongs to you, a greatness that you must recognize surpasses yours." If the poor could make this statement, with the certainty possible to faith, an equilibrium could be reestablished. Even in this world, the poor can find a great compensation that would make him accept his poverty joyfully and magnanimously. ...

When the hour arrived in which God was to restore the supernatural world, ... He said, "I am going to work out a reaction against all of the tendencies of men. ... I, the Creator of all things, I, the Maker of wealth, will appear upon the earth in the nakedness of all created things. Out of this nakedness and detachment, I will bring about a new world. I will bring about a new hierarchy. In that world and in that hierarchy the first requirement to be great is to be small. The first requirement in order to have much is not to have anything."

And God said, *Fiat!* "Let it be," and it was so. *Et Verbum caro factum est.* "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." Suddenly something different is heard, something that is surprising, *Emmanuel! Nobiscum Deus.* God with us!" ... Where is He?

Let us go to Bethlehem. ... There, where no riches remain. ... Let us go to worship Him in the lowest level of humanity, and even lower. ... "Behold God. God is here in a manger. God is here in the straw. Behold, a poor God. ... He who owns everything, does not have anything any more. *Ecce mysterium dico.* Behold the creator of all wealth deprived of riches. As such, making Himself the Author of all grace. Mystery of His birth! Mystery of His life! Mystery of His death! Above everything else, Mystery of His death! ... On this cross ... He will deprive Himself, and in His absolute deprivation He will forever espouse Himself with divine poverty. From this cross He will take you and draw you to Himself. ... He attracts humanity to Himself. He develops a hierarchy in which greatness grows in direct proportion to humiliation, and in which riches grow in proportion to self denial. ... He seeks and chooses the men who are better formed to His image. ... All of the apostles shall be poor. ...

Look at the great design of our Lord Jesus Christ. Is there anything else that He could do? Yes, and look at the last word of this masterpiece in which for the first time the transfiguration of poverty appeared.

The divine Repairer has not limited Himself to enriching the poor in proportion to their consecration to Him. He has also willed to cover them with the cloak of His divine Majesty, with the investiture of His rights. He has said, "The poor is another Jesus. Whatever you do for one of the lowest among my poor, you have done it to me."

Gentlemen, we are living in critical days in which the knowledge of poverty and the knowledge of riches threaten us with great disasters. Harmony can come only as a result of the transfiguration taught by the light of our Lord Jesus Christ. If you still will bear with me a little longer, you will see how the secret of Catholic doctrine explains the secret of social harmony, the sweet mystery of brotherhood that you desire to know, the subject of my

THIRD REFLECTION

You will agree with me that one of the greater difficulties of

this time is the scorn of the great for the small on the one hand, and on the other the envy of the small toward the great. Now, the wisdom of Catholic doctrine on one side makes the scorn disappear, and on the other the envy, producing between the rich and the poor a reciprocity of appreciation and veneration. ...

When the rich person who has seen the poor in the halo of Jesus Christ is tempted to scorn, he finds in his heart and in his understanding a secret and great impotence to do it. He says to himself, "the poor person is my brother." Even more, "the poor person is Jesus Christ Himself." ...

For the Christian who has the true wisdom of poverty, to scorn a poor person is not only an injustice or a crime, it is also a sacrilege. At the same time that scorn falls by virtue of the divine principle, envy also falls.

Forget that divine principle. Forget Christianity. Then, with envy in the heart of the poor ... you will also find a pride that boasts or a servility that disheartens. ... The poor person that knows Jesus Christ does not boast and is not disheartened; he remains what he is in Jesus Christ, which is the highest greatness.

There is another evil between the two groups of society. This is the hatred engendered precisely by scorn and envy. How could these hatreds face our sovereign principle? ...

When the high and lofty person, whose heart passionately loves Jesus Christ has seen the poor, and in the face of the poor he sees a light from the divine face of Christ, ... the rich loves the poor with all the love he has for Jesus Christ. ... Eighteen centuries ago our divine Master fulfilled this marvel.

This marvel goes to all the echelons of society looking for hearts, and filling them with His love. ... When the heart of a person of high standing receives this love ... I come to understand this phenomenon, that is not only unheard of, but also impossible outside of Christianity. The rich having for the poor a true and congenial love. Then I come to understand that love that makes him seek passionately the poor to embrace him as a brother.

And the poor person, ... Can't you see that he must love that rich person in two ways, since God sends him through him self esteem, appreciation, dignity and that which is even worth more than these, affection and love? This is the source of that human phenomenon that so often has been seen in our works of faith. Great multitudes of poor joined to the rich ... with chains of love and brotherly affection that intertwine the hearts of the poor and the rich with the heart of Christ.

This way, in these two hierarchies, in which all is marvelously joined, each one has the duty to give and the duty to receive. True

greatness consists above everything else in depending on each other and serving each other in competition. ...

Gentlemen, I leave for your serious meditation these two thoughts that will serve as a crown for all that I have presented to you. The interaction between the poor and the rich reduces itself to these two things: to make the rich person share as much of his treasures as possible with the poor ... and to make the poor person share with the rich person the treasures of grace that he possesses in the name of Christ. ...

In our centuries of faith there was a distinguished princess to whom God had given both earthly and heavenly wealth. ... In her days of greatness and prosperity this great lady ... frequently descended from the hill on which her palace was situated to a small village. There, with her distinguished hands she served in the hospitals that had been established through her generosity the poor whom she called her *little brothers*. ...

One day, as she returned to her palace, the gates were closed in her face. She, a daughter of kings, was seen going down that hill. Now she could not carry any other treasure but her poverty and her small children. ... She knocked from door to door. She first went to those places to which she had taken so many treasures to aid the poor and the lame. However, terror and tyranny had preceded her. Selfishness had closed the doors, and even worse, the hearts of men.

The royal benefactress of the poor could not even find asylum for herself and her children. At last, only one place opened its doors, ... so lowly, that it cannot even be named. When she found herself there, whe, the daughter and granddaughter of kings, Isabel, queen of Hungary, ... was visited by a memory of Bethlehem. She suddenly found her soul, not submerged in pain, but in ineffable joy. When she heard the bell of a monastery near by, she arose and went to tell the monks, "Sing a *Tedeum* to bless the Lord because of my total loneliness and nakedness." ...

Gentlemen, behold the great mystery. Just like Isabel, if you are rich, open your ... hands to give to the poor dignity, love and service. If divine providence permits you to be poor, know also, through the prism of faith and the light of Jesus Christ how to find enough joy to pray to the Lord the *Tedeum* of a happy poverty.

VIII. CHRISTIAN CHARITY

CONSIDERED TO BE THE NECESSARY CURE FOR MORAL EVIL

AND FOR THE SOCIAL EVIL THAT AILS MODERN SOCIETIES

This is the next to the last sermon of Torrecilla to be

presented in this study. Much of the subject matter of this sermon has been presented in his previous sermons. Because of this, this abstract will be somewhat shorter than those that have been presented above.

*Spanish Text*²⁵

Señores: Deber es para el ministro de la sagrada palabra señalar al pueblo fiel los errores que con tanta bajeza y adulación como ceguera y delirio, inciensa el espíritu del siglo presente. Es muy palpable para cualquiera que reflexione sus tendencias, que el enriquecimiento inmoderado, ... que el progreso indefinido en el movimiento social, que la profesión de un paraíso en esta vida presente, son una consecuencia necesaria de tres grandes errores ... acerca del punto de salida del movimiento social, acerca de los medios que han de ponerse en planta, y acerca del fin ... de la sociedad! En una palabra, error sobre la aplicación práctica del verdadero mal, error sobre la riqueza verdadera, error sobre el último fin del hombre. ...

En presencia de errores tan anticristianos como antisociales, es enteramente superfluo que se nos propongan transacciones o alianzas. Nosotros no podemos consentirlo ni lo consentiremos jamás. Salvaros queremos con el único Salvador vuestro y nuestro, Jesucristo. Ahora bien; notad bien, señores, que lo que salva no es una transacción mas o menos ingeniosa con el error, sino la supresión, la destrucción total del error. ...

El siglo ha pronunciado la palabra desinterés, abnegación. El siglo ha dicho sacrificio. El siglo ha dicho caridad. El siglo ha dicho eternidad. Al oír estas palabras, la humanidad se ha conmovido y alborotado con saltos no acostumbrados. No hay que extrañarlo, porque esas palabras son palabras divinas, y por consiguiente son palabras omnipotentes. ... Al propio tiempo que hay en esas palabras un gran poder, ... es menester por lo mismo no hacerse ilusión acerca de su verdadero sentido.

Entre esas palabras hay una que domina a las demás por la latitud de su sentido y la divinidad de su origen: ¡Caridad! Indagaremos desde luego el sentido divino que ha recibido esta palabra para dicha de los hombres, y sobre todo para la salvación de este siglo. ... Pero antes de llegar con vosotros al corazón de este importantísimo asunto, debo hacer ver, en este discurso acerca de las necesidades actuales, lo que yo llamaré la necesidad contemporánea de la caridad proclamada por el siglo mismo. Tal será el objeto de esta conferencia.

²⁵Ibid., III, 58-76.

PRIMERA REFLEXION

La caridad ... es la necesidad suprema de nuestro tiempo, porque en el corazón mismo de este siglo hay un abismo enorme que le llama. Nuestra sociedad, rica en tantas cosas que no conocieron nuestros padres, está atacada de un mal, ignorando en los más apurados conflictos de ellos. A medida que el movimiento del siglo levanta de punto mas y mas el bienestar material y físico, se está prestando a los ojos de todo observador discreto un malestar moral, inmenso y terrible. ...

Gran vocación es la de ser llamado a decir de lo alto de esta cátedra el gran mal de su siblo. Para corresponder a este cargo debidamente, sería menester ... con la autoridad de la misión tener el prestigio de Autoridad personal de que yo carezco en presencia vuestra. Tened pues a bien que para revelar este secreto haga yo hablar una voz más autorizada que la mía. Algunos años há, un ilustre orador decía:

Un gemido sordo; una queja unánime denuncian a la tierra entera el resfriamiento de los corazones. Sea que yo me ponga a escuchar la voz del hombre llamado a las altas funciones de la justicia; ... del catedrático y del maestro depositando en el alma del joven excollar el secreto de sus incilaciones; ... al hombre que ... lleva las riendas del estado; sea en fin que yo escuche la voz de esa sociedad, ... sólo viene a herir en mis oídos una palabra: "Egoísmo."

Sí, señores, esa es la herida viva del tiempo: el egoísmo. ... El origen del presente mal ... sube muy arriba, y menester es para encontrarlo recorrer las generaciones precedentes. ... La sociedad, separándose de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, debió volverse a caer sobre sí misma y condenarse al egoísmo. ...

Esfuerzo eminentemente satánico en virtud del cual nuestra sociedad moderna se condenaba a sí mismo, su infierno en la mansión de la tierra, en la región del tiempo. Porque efectivamente, ... la condenación, el infierno, no son sino el hombre que dice a su Dios: Yo me alejo, yo me ausento de tí; y Dios que le responde: Bueno, vete! ... Y en seguida, señores, el movimiento ateista del siglo no ha hecho sino agrandarse. ... Fue al pie de la letra un progreso del egoísmo. ...

La primera expresión que sirvió de punto de salida al nuevo movimiento social fue la siguiente: El mal no subsiste radicalmente en el hombre; el mal se halla radicalmente en la sociedad. El hombre de sí es bueno. La sociedad es quien lo deprava. ...

El segundo error que caracteriza al movimiento social de las sociedades modernas, es el desarrollo indefinido, el progreso indefinido de la sociedad es el progreso indefinido de la riqueza. ...

Junto con estos dos egoísmos que acabo de señalar a vuestra meditación, hay un tercero que nace infaliblemente de los otros dos: el

egoísmo de la voluntad, que yo me tomo la libertad de nombrar el egoísmo revolucionario. ... El odio desenfrenado de la soberanía de otro.

Tales son, señores, esos tres egoísmos que se engendran mutuamente como tres abismos que se abren y ensanchan para no formar sino uno solo: el abismo grande del siglo. ¡Ah, señores! hay una voz tan grande como ese abismo; y cosa digna de notar el abismo del egoísmo dice: ¡Caridad, yo soy el abismo del egoísmo! *Abyssus abyssum invocat*; y para colmar el abismo del egoísmo, no hay otro remedio que el abismo de la caridad: y esto es lo que trataré de dar a entender mejor en nuestra

SEGUNDA REFLEXION

Por disposición secreta de la paternal providencia, el mismo siglo que arrastrado de su propia corrupción ha inscrito en su bandera el nombre de *Egoísmo*, en virtud del soberano y poderoso instinto de su propia conservación, ha inscrito también en las columnas que levanta en su marcha el nombre de *Caridad*. No se crea haya contradicción en las palabras: la primera, el egoísmo, es su respiración; la segunda, caridad, es su aspiración. Con la primera dice: mi mal; con la segunda dice mi remedio.

Hay tres grandes testimonios contemporáneos, que con voz mas fuerte que la de todos los otros, proclaman la necesidad contemporánea de la caridad. El primero que yo haré ver a vuestra esencia es, señores, el testimonio mismo del error. ... Es cosa verdaderamente digna de notarse el que hijos legítimos de Voltaire, ... los herederos naturales del individualismo personificado en el mas que todo error, se hayan erigido a nuestra presencia en apóstoles, en predicadores, en propagadores de la caridad y de la fraternidad. ...

Helar, dividir, revolver, emponzoñar, destruir; he aquí lo que ha sido toda la filosofía de este hombre tan gataalmente famoso; a saber, la mas completa personificación que jamás haya comparecido en el seno de la humanidad, sin exceptuar los siglos del paganismo. Pues bien; esa filantropía encarnada en un hombre fue el espíritu de ese siglo de quien fue el alma. ...

Fuera de las filas del catolicismo, los hombres todos aparecían separados, aislados. ... Entonces aconteció en la sociedad un hecho extraordinario. Ese siglo exclamaba por boca de algunos hombres que se constituían en ecos de él: El individualismo nos devora; ¡venga, venga pues la asociación! El egoísmo nos mata; ¡venga la fraternidad! Voltaire lo ha derrocado todo; a nosotros nos incumbe salvarnos. ... Entonces fue cuando se ensañó en esos sistemas con pruebas sacadas de sus tendencias y últimos resultados. ... Dichas palabras se encuentran en dichos sistemas, y esto me basta por ahora. ... En medio de todas estas aberraciones, en medio de todos esos sistemas que se cruzan en la arena de la ciencia, que chocan y que destruyen unos a otros, hay tendencias comunes a que les es imposible sustraerse. Hay, señores, lo que Dios nos prepara, hay una profecía de la vasta expansión y

desarrollo de caridad en la tierra. Así es que cuando Dios quiere, llama al mal para ser precursor del bien, y hace que la mentira sea profeta de la verdad. ...

Pues bien, señores; ante una aclamación del error, tengamos el valor que se merece la verdad. ... Ese estremecimiento no era el anuncio de una idea nueva. Para un pueblo formado ya y que cuenta seis mil años de vida, y que está en el llano, en toda la plenitud de la verdad, no puede haber, no hay idea nueva. Jesucristo cerró en el Calvario el ciclo de las revelaciones. ...

La sociedad se le había aparecido como un monstruo cuyo aspecto lo helaba, cuyos apretones lo estrujaban, y que, como decía Británico Nerón, no intentaba abrazarlo sino para ahogarlo en su seno. Ved porqué palabras las mas tiernas y consolatorias resonaban sobre nuestras cabezas con los bramidos del huracán de la tormenta revolucionaria. ...

No creais que el pueblo quiera sistemas; lo que él quería entonces, y lo que quiere ahora y querrá siempre es la sola y única cosa que sea capaz de calmarle sus padecimientos: amor y caridad. ... ¿A qué llamarme si no se me ama? No seré yo quien acuda a un llamamiento tal. Pero si la voz que me llame es una voz de amor, ... entonces acudiré prontamente al llamamiento y seguiré así al que me llama. ...

Pues bien, señores; esta voz de amor que apela, que hace llamamiento al pueblo, es la voz de la propia abnegación en servicio de sus semejantes; es el sacrificio, es el desinterés, y es el último testimonio que os doy yo para atestiguar la necesidad contemporánea de la caridad. ...

Esa hermosa, esa feliz, esa hora sublime del amor y de la caridad sonó y retumbó por el hemisferio corrompido de la humanidad. Sí, señores, ese reloj fatídico que señala los destinos del tiempo, y en el cual la providencia divina toca con su propia mano la hora de todos sus rescates, este reloj tocó ya, y dió la hora.

¿Y sabéis lo que este dice? ... ¡Socorro, socorro! Vosotros que sois ricos, venid al socorro de los que son pobres; vosotros que sois grandes, venid al socorro de los que son pequeños; vosotros que tenéis todo, venid, venid al socorro de los que no tienen nada. ...

¿De dónde venían esos hombres y esas mujeres que hemos presenciado levantarse como legiones libertadoras, y andar presurosas por todas las sendas del sacrificio y del desinterés al socorro de las miserias humanas? ... ¿Quién las enviaba pues? ¿La filosofía? ... ¿Los poderosos de la tierra? ... ¿Algún cálculo humano? ... No; ciertamente que no. Nada humano los incitaba a ese heroísmo desconocido del siglo. Ningún hombre las enviaba. ... El soplo de Dios las movía, y el soplo del siglo las llamaba. El primero decía: Id; y el segundo exclamaba: Venid. Y así vinieron. ...

Ved pues, señores, caracterizadas en nuestro discurso esas tres

voces que os dicen lo mismo, ... a saber, la necesidad contemporánea de la caridad. El error os dice: ¡caridad! El sufrimiento os dice: ¡caridad! El sacrificio de sí mismo por el prójimo exclama también: ¡caridad! ... Esta corriente sale, no lo dudéis, del seno mismo de Dios, que es la caridad misma. ...

Ahora bien ... ese es verdaderamente el soplo de Dios. ... Luego, a vosotros, hombres consagrados al sacrificio de la caridad, al sacrificio del amor, a vosotros toca seguir ese divino sendero.

¡Oh señores! ... Venid a escuchar al Verbo del amor y de la caridad. ... Vuestros corazones se sentirán atraídos de sí mismos. El nuestro os está abierto y patente mucho mas que nuestros labios, y podemos decir muy bien con el apóstol Pablo: *Cor nostrum patet, ad vos dilatatum est* (2 Co 6:11).

Dilátase también el vuestro, y el nuestro se abrirá hacia vosotros. Y hē aquí que mi asunto mismo os abre, con las entrañas de la caridad, los dos brazos del amor crucificado.

English Version

Gentlemen: It is the duty of the ministry of the Sacred Word to indicate to the faithful the errors that so lowly are incited by the spirit of the present century. It is clear, to whoever reflects on its tendencies, that immoderate riches, ... indefinite progress in the social movement, the profession of a paradise in this present life, are an inevitable consequence of three great errors ... concerning the point of departure of the social movement, the means of acquiring them, the goal ... of society. In one word, error concerning the practical application of the true evil, concerning true riches, concerning the end of mankind. ...

In the presence of such errors that are antichristian as well as antisocial, it is not completely irrelevant to see proposals of transactions or alliances. We can never agree to such procedures. We want to save you with your and our only Saviour, Jesus Christ. Notice clearly that that which saves is not an ingenious transaction with error, but the suppression, the total destruction of error. ...

This century has pronounced the word disinterestedness, self-denial. The century has said sacrifice. The century has said charity. The century has said eternity. Upon hearing these words, humanity has been moved and aroused in an extraordinary way. This is no surprise, for these are divine words, and in consequence they are omnipotent words. ... While there is great power in their words, ... there is no reason to have false hopes concerning their true sense.

Among these woes, there is one that stands out above the rest because of the latitude of its meaning and the divinity of its origin:

Charity! We shall consider the divine sense that this word has received for the joy of man, and above all, for the salvation of this century. ... However, before coming to the core of this important subject, I must indicate, in this lecture concerning present needs, that which I will refer to as the contemporary need of charity as proclaimed by the century itself. This will be the objective of this lecture.

FIRST REFLECTION

Charity ... is the greatest need of our times, for in the heart itself of this century there is a great abyss that calls for it. Our society, so rich in so many things that our forefathers ignored, is sick, ignoring their greatest conflicts. As the movement of the century increases more and more the material and physical wellbeing, a moral illness is presenting itself before the eyes of every discreet observer. It is a great and terrible illness. ...

It is a great vocation to be invited to proclaim the illness of this century from the vantage of this rostrum. To do so effectively, it would be necessary ... with the authority of the mission, to have the prestige of personal authority that I lack in your presence. Because of this, may I use a more authorized voice than my own. Several years back, a famous preacher said:

A muffled moan, a unanimous complaint denounce in all the earth the coldness of the hearts. If I listen those that have been called to the high functions of justice; ... the professors depositing in the hearts of the youth the secrets of their inclinations; ... the man that ... holds the reins of state; even if I listen to society as a whole, ... the only word that rings upon my ears is: *Selfishness*.

Truly this is the wound of our time: selfishness. ... The origin of this present evil ... is very old. It is necessary to go to former generations to find it. ... Society, separating itself from the Lord Jesus Christ, had to fall back upon itself and condemn itself to selfishness. ...

This is a diabolical effort in which society condemned itself. Its hell is found in the mansion of this earth, in the region of time. Effectively, ... condemnation, hell, ... are only that man tells God: I go away, I depart from you. God answers: Go! ... Immediately, the atheistic movement of the century has broadened. ... It was nothing else than the progress of selfishness. ...

The first expression that served as starting point to the new social movement was: Evil does not radically subsist in man; evil is radically found in society. Man, of himself, is good. It is society that perverts him. ...

The second error that characterizes the social movement of

modern society is that indefinite development. The indefinite development of society is the indefinite development of wealth. ...

Together with these two expressions of selfishness is a third one that inevitably comes from the other two: selfishness of will. I take the liberty of calling this revolutionary selfishness. ... The unbridled hatred of the sovereignty of others. ...

These are the three selfishnesses that complement each other as three abysses that open up to form a great abyss: the great abyss of the century. Gentlemen: there is a voice that is as great as that abyss. It is interesting to notice that the abyss of selfishness says: Charity, I am the abyss of selfishness! *Abyssus abyssum invocat*. To fill the abyss of selfishness there is no other remedy than the abyss of charity. This is what I will endeavor to present more clearly in our

SECOND REFLECTION

By secret disposition of divine providence, the century itself has written *Selfishness* on its flag because of its own corruption. Because of its own instinct of conservation, it has also inscribed in its monuments *Charity*. There is not any contradiction between the two terms: the first one, selfishness, is its breathing; the second one, charity, its aspiration. With the first one it says: my illness; with the second one: my cure.

There are three great contemporary testimonies. Their voice is louder than that of all the others. They proclaim the present need of charity. The first one is the testimony of error itself. ... It is truly noticeable that the legitimate sons of Voltaire, ... the natural inheritors of personified individualism in that which is more than anything else an error, in our presence have become apostles, preschers, evangelists of charity and brotherhood. ...

To freeze, divide, stir, poison, destroy; this is that which has come out of the philosophy of this fatally famous man; the most complete personification that has ever come to humanity, including the years of paganism. That philosophy embodied in one man was the spirit of that century of which he was the soul. ...

Outside of the ranks of Catholicism, all men appeared separated, isolated. ... Then something out of the ordinary happened in society. That century screamed through the mouth of some men that became its echo. Individualism is devouring us. Bring community! Selfishness is killing us. Bring brotherhood! Voltaire has destroyed everything. We must save ourselves. ... That is the time when something real was taught in those systems with proofs found in its tendencies, and final results. ... Such words are found in those systems, and that is sufficient for now. ... In the midst of all of these aberrations, in the midst of all of those systems that cross with each other in the field of science and destroy each other, there are common tendencies that cannot be ignored. There is that which God prepares for us, a prophecy

of the great expansion and development of charity upon the earth. Thus, whenever it is the will of God, He calls evil to be the harbinger of good, and He makes the lie to be the prophet of truth. ...

Standing before a proclamation of error, let us have the courage that truth deserves. ... That stirring did not come as the result of a new idea. For a mature people, with six thousand years of existence, in all of the fullness of truth, there cannot be a new idea. Jesus Christ closed upon Calvary the cycle of revelations. ...

Society had appeared as a monster of a freezing semblance, whose grip caused pain, and as Britannicus Nero said, it did not try to embrace except to cause strangulation. See the reason for which the most loving words made an echo upon our heads with the sound of the winds of the revolutionary hurricane. ...

Do not think that people wanted systems. What was wanted then, today and for ever is the only thing that can quiet its pains: love and charity. ... Why call me if I am not loved? I will not answer such a call. However, if the voice that calls me is a voice of love, ... then I will immediately answer the call and follow it. ...

This voice of love that appeals to the people is the voice of selflessness in the service of others. It is sacrifice, impartiality, and it is my last witness that testifies to today's need of charity.

That beautiful, joyous, sublime hour of love and charity was heard throughout the corrupted hemisphere of humanity. That fateful clock that indicates the fate of time, and upon which divine providence indicates with its own hand the hour of all its rescues, this clock has already marked the hour.

Do you know what it is saying? ... Help! Help! Those of you who are rich come to the rescue of the poor. Those of you who are great, come to the rescue of the small. Those of you who have everything, come, come to the rescue of those that do not have anything. ...

From where did those people come whom as legions through all of the paths of sacrifice and selflessness to rescue human misery? ... Who sent them? Was it philosophy? ... Was it the powerful of the earth? ... Was it a human calculation? ... No, never. No man sent them. ... God's breath moved them, and the breath of the century sent them. The former said, "Go." The later, "Come." And thus, they came.

Behold in our lecture the presentation of those three voices that are saying the same thing, ... that is, the present need of charity. Error says, "Charity." Suffering says, "Charity." Selflessness also says, "Charity." ... Don't ever doubt that this stream flows from God, charity personified. ...

Now, ... that is truly the breath of God. ... Then, to you,

who are consecrated to the sacrifice of charity, to the sacrifice of love, to you becomes the duty of following that divine path.

Gentlemen! ... Come to hear the Word of love and of charity. ... Your hearts will feel the attraction. Ours is open and much more potent than our lips, and with Paul we can truthfully say: *Cor nostrum patet, ad vos dilatatum est* (2 Cor 6:11).

May yours also open up, and ours will be opened to you. Behold, my subject opens up with the soul of charity the two arms of crucified love.

IX. SOCIAL BENEFITS PRODUCED BY CHRISTIANITY

This sermon is the natural sequel to the one considered above. It is not a sermon in which Torrecilla is trying to encourage his audience to charity. It rather is an apologetical sermon.

The following is a real abbreviation of this sermon. In the introduction he describes paganism and even the Jewish religion of the time of Christ. Then he presents the sermon that is summarized below. He closes presenting several examples of Christian charity, such as the Hospital for Lepers of St. Lazarus, the Fathers of Mercy for the Redemption of Captives, the Hermits of the Mountain of St. Bernard, and persons who have left their wealth to become servants of the poor.²⁶

Spanish Text

Todos los pueblos, ... a la excepción de uno solo, ... se habían hecho sus dioses. ... Si consultamos en efecto la historia, vemos todos los vicios preconizados, incensados. La santidad del templo en que nos hallamos reunidos no me permite entrar en detalles acerca de los misterios impuros, que se celebraban a honra de aquellos dioses a quienes habían prestado sus inventores todos sus defectos, todas sus pasiones, todos sus desarreglos. ...

²⁶Torrecilla, *Biblioteca Selecta de Predicadores: Demonstraciones Católicas*, I (París: Rosa, Bouret y Cía., 1856), 525-537.

No solamente se habían introducido en la religión de nuestros primeros antepasados esos errores groseros, ... sino que habían pasado también sucesivamente a las costumbres, a las leyes y hasta a la familia; y esto no podía menos de suceder así. ... No solamente se había extinguido todo principio de moralidad, sino que en corazones esencialmente egoístas y corrompidos se había llegado a extinguir todo sentimiento de humanidad.

Los esclavos, en efecto, eran vendidos y arrastrados como manadas de animales. Leed ... los edictos ... romanos respecto de las ventas de aquellos ... que la civilización moderna propende victoriosamente a abolir, y veréis que el artículo concerniente a estos infortunados antecede inmediatamente al que se refiere a los animales domésticos, y se halla redactado absolutamente en iguales términos. ...

Una vez adquirido el esclavo, el poseedor suyo tenía derecho de vida y muerte sobre él. ... ¿Se hacía viejo o caía enfermo? se le echaba a morir al campo, o bien se le magullaba a palos hasta hacerle espirar. Respecto de los esclavos jóvenes y robustos a penas si se les daba de comer. ...

Estos desgraciados eran cual juguete que se hace trizas al menor capricho. Se podían vender a los gladiadores ... o bien se les precipitaba vivos en los estanques o lagunas, en donde sus carnes todavía palpitantes servían para engordar los pescados destinados a regalar la mesa espléndida del amo.

I.

Si de espectáculo tan horroroso echamos la vista por la clase de los pobres, la veremos menospreciada, abandonada, injuriada como una casta maldita por el cielo. ...

Respecto de las acciones, no sólo se excluía o hacía completa abstracción de la moral, sino que ni aun se reconocía ninguna regla de equidad. ...

Los ladrones pedían a su diosa Laverna el arte de engañar y ser creídos justos: *Pulchra Laverna, da mihi fallere; da justum sanctumque videri.* ...

II.

El cristianismo ... a medida que se iba extendiendo, reformó las costumbres bárbaras e impías ... y le opuso las más sublimes virtudes. ...

Una de sus más hermosas conquistas fue la purificación de la familia. ... La mujer fue mirada, no ya como esclava, sino como compañera del hombre. Se respetó la vida del niño. La condición del menesteroso se mejoró. ... La suerte del esclavo vino a ser menos triste.

El primer emperador cristiano, Constantino, borró del código de leyes el derecho de vida y muerte sobre el esclavo. ... La religión cristiana no puede, aquí abajo, curar todos los males. ... Existen esclavos, existen menesterosos: pero ¿qué hace esta Madre tierna? trabajar con todos sus esfuerzos para alivio de unos, y manumisión de los otros: no ... diciendo al esclavo: Enarbola el estandarte de la rebelión y degüella a tus señores: No, sino diciéndole: Resígnate; padece con paciencia, y mientras tanto no cesa de abogar la causa de la desgracia ante sus amos, excitando en sus almas sentimientos de compasión y de amor.

Hay seguramente en esta población, y tal vez en este auditorio personas que habrán vivido en las colonias. ... Cuando no se mira al esclavo sino como a una acémila, como a un instrumento de fortuna, es claro que no se ha de reparar en sobrecargarle con un trabajo excesivo, en herirle en sus mas vivos afectos y aun en abrumarlo a palos y azotes.

Pero desde el momento que el cristiano ve en el negro un criado, un miembro de la familia, un hermano, ... cuando trae a su memoria aquella sentencia de san Pablo: "El que no toma cuidado de los suyos y particularmente de sus familiares o domésticos, es peor que un infiel" (1 Tm 5:8). ... La Hija de Cristo tiene para con ellos los mismos miramientos ... que ... a los de su propia familia. ... Esa digna matrona instruye a sus esclavos. ... Tales son, católicos, los sentimientos sociales que inspira el cristianismo. ...

Leed atentamente la historia del Beato Pedro Claver, ese apóstol, ese padre de los negros. No se puede relatar sus heroicas acciones respecto de ellos, sin que arrasen de lágrimas nuestras mejillas. Leed la vida y escritos de Bartolomé de las Casas, del venerable Palafox, de Luis de Valdivia, esos tres Padres y Protectores de los Indios.

III.

Antes del cristianismo, la mayor parte de los hombres, según nos enseña la historia, ... no vivían sino de rapiñas y latrocinios. Las guerras eran casi continuas. ... Uno de los mayores regocijos para aquellos pueblos caníbales era el beber en el cráneo de los que habían vencido.

Aparece el cristianismo en el mundo, y las guerras son mas raras; y casi sin ejemplo las guerras de exterminación. ... "Al cristianismo debemos," dice Montesquieu, "cierto derecho político en el gobierno, en la guerra cierto derecho de gentes que no puede desconocer la naturaleza humana." "En fin," añade Jacobo Rousseau, "nuestros gobiernos deben incontestablemente al cristianismo su mas sólida autoridad y sus revoluciones menos frecuentes. Los ha vuelto mucho menos sanguinarios, y eso se demuestra con hechos, comparándolos a los gobiernos antiguos." ...

Vivimos cabalmente en un siglo en el cual se ocupan mucho los gobiernos y las sociedades filantrópicas de la mejora de la suerte de

los pobres. Se ponen hasta las nubes las obras de beneficencia y filantropía. ... No permita el Señor que sea la intención mía criticar, ni menospreciar tales obras. ... La filantropía ha hecho mucho bien, y hace aun todos los días: pero es forzoso convenir en que todo lo que hay de bueno, desinteresado y noble en su institución, lo ha sacado del cristianismo como de su fuente natural.

La filantropía ... es una rama separada de un árbol magnífico, ... pero que de ordinario, hija ingrata y desnaturalizada, ha renegado de su noble madre y avergonzándose de su celestial prosapia. Por otra parte ¿qué necesidad hay de sustituir el nombre de filantropía al de caridad? ¿Ese nombre significaría por ventura algo mas, o inspiraría virtudes mas humanas que este? Porque cuando se trata de reformar, hay que hacerlo mejor que antes estaba. Ahora bien ¿qué quiere decir ese nombre de *Filantropía*? No quiere decir sino amor al hombre, pero la palabra *Caridad* quiere decir no sólo amor del hombre sino amor del hombre por el amor de Dios. Como está escrito que no se puede amar a Dios si no se ama a su hermano (1 Jn 4:20), no se puede tampoco amar al hermano, sin amar a Dios.

Cuando por el contrario se ama a Dios, ámase necesariamente al hermano, pues que estos dos preceptos, fundamentos de toda la doctrina cristiana (Mt 22:40), no forman en realidad sino uno solo: *Diliges!* (Rm 13:10).

Y así, ved ¡cuánto vuelo, cuánto realce da la religión a la caridad, cuánta abnegación la inspira, cuántos trabajos la hace arrostrar en favor de la humanidad paciente! ...

English Version

All ancient peoples, ... except only one, ... had invented their own gods. ... If we truly study history we see all of the vices proclaimed, flattered. The holiness of the temple in which we are meeting does not permit me to describe in detail the impure mysteries, celebrated to the honor of those gods to whom their inventors had loaned all of their faults, their passions, their confusion.

Those uncouth errors had not only entered the religion of our forefathers, ... they had also passed successively to their habits, their laws, and even to their families. It could not be otherwise. ... Not only every principle of morality had been extinguished, but in essentially selfish hearts every feeling of humanitarianism had been extinguished.

Slaves were sold and herded like animals. Read ... the Roman edicts related to their sale ... which modern civilization tries to abolish. You will notice that the article that deals with this comes immediately before the one that deals with domestic animals. Both are presented in the same format. ...

Once acquired, the master had the right of life or death over the slave. ... Did he age or fall ill? He was sent to die in the field, or beaten with rods until death. Younger slaves were barely fed.

These unfortunates were as a toy that may be torn for the slightest reason. They could be sold to the gladiators ... or placed alive in ponds, where their master's fish devoured them before being served on their tables for a banquet.

I.

If from such a horrible spectacle we look at the poor, we see them as scorned, abandoned, wronged as a caste cursed by heaven.

Concerning actions, morality was not only ignored, but no rule of fairness was recognized. ...

Thieves asked their goddess Laverne the art of stealing and being considered righteous: *Pulchra Laverna, da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri.* ...

II.

As Christianity ... extended itself, it reformed those barbarian and impious habits ... and imposed the most sublime virtues.

One of its most beautiful conquests was the purification of the family. ... Woman was looked upon not as a slave, but as the companion of man. The life of the child was respected. The condition of the poor improved. ... The lot of the slave became less gloomy. ...

Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, erased from the law the right of life or death over a slave. ... The Christian religion cannot cure all evils here upon earth. ... There are slaves, there are poor, but, what is being done by the loving Mother? She is doing all within her power to help some and free the others. She ... does not tell the slaves to raise the flag of rebellion and kill the masters. No, she rather says: "Be patient, bear it." At the same time she continues to plead their disgrace in the presence of their masters, exciting them to compassion and love.

Probably some of those that are hearing me have lived in the colonies. ... When slaves are not looked upon but as beasts of burden, and no one cares that tools of fortune, they are overburdened with work, hurt in their most meaningful affections or chastised with beatings. But, from the moment that a Christian looks upon a black as a servant, a member of the family, a brother, ... when Paul's words are remembered: "He who does not care for his own, especially his relatives or the members of his household, he is worse than an unbeliever" (1 Tm 5:8). ... The Daughter of Christ looks upon them ... as if they were members of her own family. ... That worthy woman instructs her slaves. Catholics, these are the social sentiments inspired by Christianity.

Read carefully the life of the Blessed Pedro Claver, that apostle, father of the blacks. It is impossible to speak of his deeds without tears. Read the life and writings of Bartolomé de las Casas, the venerable Palafox, Luis de Valdivia, those three Fathers and Protectors of the Indians. ...

III.

According to history, before the coming of Christianity, the majority of men ... lived raping and stealing. Wars were almost constant. ... One of the greatest joys for those cannibals was to drink from the skull of the defeated.

Christianity appears on the earth, and there were fewer wars. The wars of extermination almost disappeared. ... Montesquieu says: "We owe to Christianity a certain political right in the government, a certain right of people in war that human nature cannot ignore." Rousseau adds: "There is no question that our governments owe to Christianity their greater authority and the decreased frequency of revolution. Christianity has made them less bloodthirsty. This is demonstrated by facts, comparing them with ancient governments." ...

We truly live in a century in which governments and philanthropic societies are very much engaged in the improvement of the lot of the poor. Works of social service are praised and encouraged. ... God forbid that my intention be one of criticism or belittling of such activities. ... Philanthropy has done much good, and it is still doing it daily. However, it is necessary to notice that all it has of good, selfless and worthy in its institution, it has taken from Christianity as its natural source.

Philanthropy ... is a branch that has been cut from a magnificent tree. ... However, she has been an ungrateful daughter, disowning her mother, being ashamed of her lineage. On the other hand, Why should philanthropy be a substitute for charity? Does that word mean something more? Does it inspire more humane virtues? After all, when there is an effort of reformation, the result must be an improvement from that which existed formerly. What does *philanthropy* mean? It means love to man. *Charity* not only means love of man, but love of man because of God's love. It is written that it is impossible to love God if there is no love for the brother (1 Jn 4:20), it is also impossible to love the brother, man, if there is no love for God.

On the other hand, when God is loved, man is also loved, for these two precepts, foundation of all Christian doctrine (Mt 22:40) are in reality only one: *Diliges!* (Rm 13:10).

Thus, notice how religion emphasizes charity. How much selflessness it inspires and how many good works are attempted by it in favor of humanity!

APPENDIX D

JOSE DE JESUS CUEVAS'

CHRISTMAS SERMON TO THE POOR OF THE DUMP

This sermon has many features that distinguish it. One of them is that it was actually addressed to the poor of the dump. Another one is that it was not preached by a preacher, but by a lawyer. Cuevas, like Kierkegaard, did not dare call his speeches sermons, but discourses. This one was preached on Christmas, 1895. Because of the altitude of Mexico City, it must have been a cold day.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOSE DE JESUS CUEVAS

José de Jesús Cuevas was born in Mexico City in 1842. He was only six years old at the time of the American invasion. He became a lawyer. He lived at a time when Mexico, like Spain, was alternating between Conservative and Liberal governments. Under these circumstances, a lay person could often do more for the Church than professional ministers. Cuevas served his church founding Catholic Action in Mexico. He led this organization and edited five different Catholic publications.¹ As a lawyer, and holding this position in the Church, it was his privilege to present several religious discourses. These were presented between 1869 and 1898.² One of his later speeches is the one that is considered in this chapter.

¹José de Jesús Cuevas, *Discursos Religiosos* (México: V. Agüeros, 1898), pp. vii-x.

²Ibid., pp. 1-430.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THIS SPEECH

As a good Catholic, Cuevas belonged to the Conservative Party. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, was strongly anti-Catholic. During one of the periods when this party governed, the situation was serious enough for Cuevas to have to leave the country and live both in the United States and Europe. Upon his return he had saved enough to have his own spinning mill in Mexico.³

Cuevas' discourse to the poor was preached during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. Díaz was the major political force in Mexico between 1876 and 1910. He personally occupied the presidency during all of that period except 1880-1884.⁴ His government was liberal at first, but it became conservative as the years went by.

The 1890's represented the apogee of the regime of Porfirio Díaz. At this time the rich were extremely wealthy and the poor were extremely poor. The Church was probably at the height of its power. Protestantism was at an incipient stage. It practically had no voice in the country, even though a few intellectuals favored it.

José de Jesús Cuevas had no solution to offer the poor. The only thing he could do is that which he did in this speech, he offered them what could be considered to be an elegy to poverty. It was to serve as a source of encouragement for years to come.

³Ibid., pp. x-xiii.

⁴Ricardo Vera Tornell, *Historia de la Civilización*, II (Barcelona: Sopena, 1958), 418.

III. THE DISCOURSE TO THE POOR OF THE DUMP

As noticed above, this is a very interesting speech. It is also a relatively short discourse. It is outstanding not only because it was delivered by a layman, but also because of its eloquence and its biblical pictures. Because of this it is presented almost in its entirety.

*Spanish Text*⁵

This is the last discourse of the Nineteenth Century to be presented in this study. Sermons from the Twentieth Century will be presented only in English translation. This means that this is the last speech that will be presented both in Spanish and in English.

Mis grandes amigos y queridos hermanos:

Jamás había tenido la honra de hablar desde tribuna más alta, ni de dirigir la palabra a una asamblea más elevada ni más digna, mucho más que si lo fuera de reyes. Me dirijo en esta noche, la más grande y solemne en la serie de los tiempos, a vosotros los pobres del muladar, los que vivís de las basuras. A vosotros los pobres de los pobres, es decir, los predilectos del Señor; los aristócratas de la miseria, los que sois mártires sublimes de un instante, para llegar muy pronto a transformaros en los inamovibles potentados de la eternidad.

La pobreza, que considerada a la luz vacilante y escasa del mundo es el compendio aterrador de todos los dolores humanos, contemplada a la vívida e indeficiente luz del cielo se convierte en el más rico e inagotable de los tesoros. Llevada la pobreza con paciencia es el perenne prodigio que trocará las de espigas en coronas de estrellas, y en manto de espléndida púrpura los miserables harapos.

Tiene que ser verdadera nuestra religión que ha santificado la pobreza, porque sólo siendo divina, pudo atreverse a llamar a la faz de todos los grandes y dichosos de la tierra, bienaventurados a los pobres (Mt 5:3). ...

En esta cruel estación de frío hace crujir las carnes cuando

⁵Cuevas, pp. 363-369.

no tienen abrigo. El hambre tenaz e implacable, abate y quebranta el cuerpo hasta que lo hace desfallecer. No tener techo contra la intemperie, casi hace inferior la humana a la suerte de las fieras que encuentran sus cubiles al menos, en el fondo de los desiertos, en la espesura de las selvas. Estar desnudo es una vergüenza y un dolor. Para las enfermedades del pobre no hay remedios ni consuelos: no tienen distracción sus tristezas, ni treguas sus amarguras. La pobreza es el martirio lento e inacabable de todo el cuerpo.

Son más acerbos los dolores que la pobreza hace sentir al alma. El trabajo, esa esclavitud ineludible a que nacemos destinados todos, tiene cadenas muy pesadas para el pobre; quizás sea más dolorosa que la dura fatiga con que adquiere el mermado jornal para sustentar la vida, la insolencia de la mano cruel que se lo paga, arrojándolo como si fuera una limosna, cuando debiera presentárselo de rodillas como quien tributa a la justicia.

El corazón humano está formado para amar. ... Sin amor el corazón humano moriría de asfixia. Nadie hay que no ame a alguien sobre la tierra. ... No poder darle ni un báculo al padre anciano en que apoye sus últimos pasos sobre la tierra, ni un andrago a la hija con que cubra su inocencia, ni una flor a la mujer santamente amada con que pueda adornar sus enmarañados cabellos, es el más angustioso tormento de la pobreza. No tener qué dar, es el supremo y más sublime sacrificio del pobre.

El pobre que lo es con resignación, es un héroe, un mártir y un santo. Pero Dios que es todo amor, para que el pobre no desfallezca en su camino de abrojos y fatigosa jornada, le ha dado desde ahora ... los dos más grandes tesoros de su bondad infinita: la paciencia, que trueca en delicias los dolores; y la esperanza, que torna ligero todo fardo.

Ser pobre es ser predestinado, es pagar desde la tierra la expiación de nuestras miserias para entrar sin deudas a la eternidad; estar divisando desde aquí abajo el radiante trono que le espera allá arriba para reinar eternamente al lado del Juez inmoral de los siglos. No alcanzan la inteligencia ni el amor humanos, para comprender el valor inmenso de ese diamante purísimo, de ese incomparable tesoro, que en nuestro ruín lenguaje llamamos pobreza, y sólo deberíamos denominar el más seguro sendero de la eternidad feliz y la llave maestra del paraíso.

Dios es muy rico. Es suya toda la tierra. ... Son suyos el radiante sol, esa luna, cuya apacible luz nos está alumbrando, y todos esos astros incontables que cruzan el inmenso firmamento. También son suyos los cielos con todos los ángeles y santos que los pueblan. ... Ese Dios infinitamente rico, al hacerse hombre, sólo uno escogió para sí entre todos sus tesoros: la pobreza! Siendo dueño de todos los tronos, prefirió nacer en un pesebre; tuvo frío, y apenas tuvo pañales con que envolver sus adorables carnes.

Desde que el Verbo Humanado quiso hacer en un establo, ganar el pan con el sudor de su rostro y no tener donde reclinar su cabeza, quedó tan dignificada y santificada la pobreza, que toda frente pensadora y noble tiene que inclinarse con respeto ante la augusta majestad de la miseria honrada.

Pobres, prinicias de la Redención, primogénitos de la familia cristiana, hijos predilectos de nuestro padre que está en los cielos, ya que tan opulentos sois en gracias y tanto valéis ante el acatamiento del Señor, tened a vuestra vez compasión de nosotros los mendigos del alma, y dadnos una limosna por amor de Dios! No nos olvidéis por piedad en vuestras oraciones, y los que lleguéis de vosotros antes que nosotros a la eternidad, rogadle al Señor que en el día tremendo de su justicia no se acuerde al juzgarnos más que de su misericordia; que nos perdone al ver nuestro pedazo de pan en vuestras manos, al escuchar todavía en vuestro oído el eco de nuestras sinceras palabras de consuelo y al encontrar en vuestros corazones los más tiernos afectos de nuestro amor.

Rogadle ahora y entonces, que nos ponga del lado de los benditos de su Padre. El lo tiene dicho y primero caerán el cielo y la tierra que deje de cumplirse ni un ápice de su palabra eterna: "Venid, benditos de mi Padre, porque tuve hambre y me disteis de comer; estaba desnudo y me vestisteis" (Mt 25:34-36).

English Version

My great friends and beloved brothers:

I have never had the honor of speaking from a higher platform, or of addressing myself to a more worthy audience, even if it were an audience of kings. I am addressing myself tonight, the loftiest in the series of time, to you, the poor of the dump, who live out of garbage. You, the poor of the poor, that is, the chosen ones of the Lord; the aristocrats of misery, martyrs of an instant, who will soon be transformed into the unmovable potentates of eternity.

Poverty, considered in the dim light of the world, is the terrorizing summary of all of human pain, but seen in the powerful light of heaven it becomes the richest and most inexhaustible treasure. When poverty is supported patiently, it is the eternal marvel that will change the crown of thorns to one of stars and the rags of this earth into a royal garment.

Our religion must be true. It has sanctified poverty. Only being divine could it dare in the presence of all of the mighty of earth to call the poor blessed. ...

This cruel season of winter makes the flesh to gnash when it has no cover. Unsatisfied hunger breaks the body to the fainting

point. To have no roof almost makes the human lot inferior to that of the beasts, who at least have their territories in the depths of the desert or in the midst of the forest. To be naked is a shame and a pain. There is no cure or comfort for the sickness of the poor. There is no amusement for their sorrows or rest for their despair. Poverty is a slow martyrdom for all of the body.

Even greater is the pain that poverty brings upon the soul. Labor, that unavoidable slavery to which all of us are destined, has unbearable chains for the poor. Probably even worse than the hard work with which the insufficient wage is earned is the insolence of the cruel hand that pays it, throwing it as though it were an alms, when it really should be presented upon the knees, as a tribute to justice.

The human heart is formed to love. ... Without love the human heart would asfixiate. There is no one who has nobody to love upon the earth. ... Not being able to provide a cane for the support of the last steps of an old parent, or a rag with which a daughter may cover her innocence, or a flower for the adornment of the hair of a beloved wife, is the most painful torment of poverty. Not to have anything to give is the greatest sacrifice of the poor.

Whoever is resigned to his poverty is a hero, a martyr and a saint. God, who is all love, has given the poor from now so that he may not faint ... the two greatest treasures of His infinite kindness; patience, that changes pain into delight, and hope, that lightens every burden. ...

To be poor is to be predestined, to pay from this earth the atonement of our miseries in order to enter without debts into eternity. It is to see from this earth the shining throne that is awaiting above for him to reign eternally at the side of the immortal Judge of all the centuries. Neither human wisdom nor love can understand the value of that pure diamond, that unique treasure, that in our base language we call poverty, when we should call it the surest way to eternal bliss and the key of paradise.

God is very rich. All of the earth belongs to Him. ... His are the sun, that moon whose light shines upon us, and all of those stars that cross the firmament. Heaven also belongs to Him with all of its angels and saints. ... That rich God, when He became man, chose only one of His treasures for Himself, poverty! Being the owner of all the thrones, He chose to be born in a manger. He was cold, and He barely had diapers with which to cover His adorable flesh.

Since the Incarnate Word chose to be born in a manger, to earn His sustenance with the sweat of His brow and not to have where to rest His head, poverty became so dignified and sanctified that every thinking individual must respectfully bow before the majesty of honest misery.

Poor peoples, first fruits of Redemption, first born of the

Christian family, favorite sons of our Father in heaven, since you are so rich in grace and have such a high value before the Lord, have compassion on us, the beggars of the soul, and give us alms, for God's sake! Do not forget us in your prayers, and those of you who get to eternity before us, ask the Lord that in that terrible day of His righteousness He will only remember His mercy as He judges us; that He may forgive us as He sees our slice of bread in your hands, upon hearing our sincere words of comfort and as He finds in your hearts the most loving tokens of our love.

Ask Him today and then to place us with the blessed of His Father. He has promised this, and heaven and earth will pass away before one iota of His eternal word fails: "Come, blessed of my Father, for I was hungry and you fed me, I was naked and you clothed me" (Mt 25:34-36).

APPENDIX E

TWO SPEECHES OF ANTONIO CASO

Antonio Caso, as José de Jesús Cuevas, was not a preacher. He was an educator. However, his speeches have religious content and significance. Two of them consider some aspects of the problems studied in this dissertation in one way or another.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ANTONIO CASO

Antonio Caso was born in Mexico City where he also died (1885-1946).¹ Besides being an educator, he was also a lawyer.² However, he was best known as a philosopher.³ He was a member of the Royal Academy of the Spanish language in Mexico⁴ and President of the National University.⁵

José de Jesús Cuevas represented the thinking of the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. Caso represented the thinking of the onset of the revolution that formed the party that still governs Mexico today. As president of the University, Caso did much to shape the philosophy of modern Mexico.

¹"Caso, Antonio," *Enciclopedia de México*, II (México: Instituto de Enciclopedia de México, 1978), 201.

²"Caso, Antonio," *Enciclopedia Barsa de Consulta Fácil*, IV (Chicago: Enciclopedia Britannica, 1962), 305.

³"Caso," *Enciclopedia de México*, II, 201.

⁴"Caso, Antonio," *Monitor Enciclopedia Salvat para Todos*, III (Pamplona, Sp.: Salvat, 1965), 161.

⁵"Caso," *Enciclopedia Barsa*, IV, 305.

II. MEXICO, 1900 - 1925

Caso grew up during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. He was twenty-five at the outset of the revolution. Just before its initiation he was among the founders of the *Ateneo Juventud*.⁶ In spite of its conservatism, the philosophy of the regime of Díaz was that of positivism. Caso destroyed this idea together with Henríquez Ureña and Gómez Robledo and brought Bergsonian intuition as the new philosophy of erudite Mexico.⁷

III. SOURCE OF THE TEXT OF CASO'S SPEECHES

Caso himself published his speeches in 1922. A copy of this book is found in several libraries in this country. It contains eleven speeches, five of which have ethical content. Two of these are related to social issues.

Access to all of these speeches of the Twentieth Century is relatively easy. Because of this, all of them will be presented only in English. The translation is by the author of this study.

IV. THE TWILIGHT OF MACHIAVELLI

This speech was presented at the end of the First World War. It was presented in the hope that President Wilson would deal with Mexico the way he preached that he would deal with Europe. After all, some of Mexico's older citizens could still remember the American invasion in which the country lost half of its territory.

⁶Ibid.

⁷"Caso," *Enciclopedia de México*, II, 201.

In the introduction Caso speaks of the deceitfulness of the double standard under which personal deceit is compared with international deceit. This has both religious and social applications related to the way the rich treat the poor.

Deceit, that conscience reproves in individual relationships, is not only tolerated, but also stimulated and encouraged in the diplomacy of the relationship between nations. There is one morality for men and another for countries, one law for individuals and another for peoples. Basically, barbarism still governs, sustaining the zoological triumph of the strong nation over the one that is weak. That which is considered to be a crime becomes a virtue and infamy becomes glory if consideration is passed from an individual nation to the universal body of nations.⁸

In the light of the objective of World War I this was a very true statement. Caso considered that German power had been always opposed to the objectives of civilization. However, he indicated that "force does not achieve the objective of establishing right."⁹

He indicated that Wilson had brought about the funeral of Machiavellism. There would be no more secret treaties between nations according to Wilson's message to the American Congress. This represented the "apocalypse of unmeasured ambition, of the desire of power for power's sake."¹⁰ It should be noted that "apocalypse" does not mean "revelation" in this case, but "consummation."

Caso hoped that Wilson would deal with Mexico the same way in which he was dealing with Germany. "To be just in behalf of humanity with Germany is great. To be just with Mexico is to be immortal."¹¹

His conclusion, in abstract form, is translated as follows:

⁸Antonio Caso, *Discursos a la Nación Mexicana* (México: Porrúa, 1922), pp. 101, 102.

⁹Ibid., p. 102.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 103.

¹¹Ibid., p. 104.

It is necessary that action corroborate the commandment; that principle be saturated with reality; for he who has good thoughts and bad actions has always been more condemned than he who has bad thoughts and acts accordingly. The moralist has spoken. May his actions guarantee his thoughts. ...

The defeat of the diplomatic lie has begun. Wilson has seen clearly that sophism is the root of crime and war the monstrous inflorescence of perfidy. If we condemn the reputation of lies, Why must we exalt them as a political weapon?

"Un buono e sabio Principe deve amare la pace e fuggire la guerra," was said by the subtle Florentine. However, deceit is not the way to eradicate war, but precisely the opposite.

May civilized humanity continue in its gigantic development till it reaches the triumph of justice. ... May peoples and men live in a glass house "to the great day" as August Comte taught in his energetic French aphorism.

Only then history will indicate the arrival of the twilight of Machiavelli.¹²

V. OUR HUMAN MISSION

As the former one, this is a speech and not a sermon. However, in sections, it has more the flavor of a sermon than the other one. The following abstract is more abbreviated than that of sermons, but it will indicate the main theme and the points in which this speech appears similar to a sermon. Those portions that cover social issues are also included.

Since this speech is presented in a form that is more complete than the former one, the format followed is the same followed above for such speeches. The English abbreviation is as follows:¹³

The creation of the world has not been finished. This is the fundamental reason for the existence of mankind. In the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel 3:2,12) we shall know if the world was good or bad.

¹²Ibid., pp. 104, 105.

¹³Ibid., pp. 231-248.

The optimists and the pessimists must both wait until the Lord finishes His work in order to judge it. ...

All of life is a struggle. Morality is the struggle for the realization of human nature. There is no virtue that is weak. ... Religions have always set up as an ideal those who have struggled through systematic effort. As Aquiles, the Christian ascetic is virtuous. The fakir, the martyr, the cenobite, all are virtuous. ... Their actions were moral because their life agreed with their objective.

Good will does not desire pleasure, it wants the pleasure of being good, of being courageous. Aristotle taught that every act that is accomplished begets pleasure. ...

Morality founded on the pleasure of the majority, according to Bentham's disciples, does not lean towards the improvement of life, toward its realization, but toward its drowsiness, its inevitable defeat. ... The only moral pleasures are those that come as a result of effort, not those that enervate it. Duty is not a dead rule or a Judaic command, but an invitation, a persuasion to work in the sense of the greatest intensity and fecundity that defend creation. ...

Every moral formula must proclaim the condemnation of selfishness. ... The moral individual understands that he is not the end of existence, but only a moment in its development. ...

Pleasure is a result. If you are good, you will enjoy. If you are bad you will also enjoy. If you are selfish without being bad, you will enjoy. ... If you only want to enjoy, do whatever you want to do; do not ask for morality, but for the theory of pleasure. ...

Life is tension and rest, ... selfishness and sacrifice. ... Laziness is evil. Diligence is good. Laziness is to work for "self," who already exists, and not for the "other" who is to come. Virtue means to work, not for what already is, but for something better. "My Father still works" (Jn 5:17), said Jesus. The virtuous work with Him.

Contemporary thought offers a greater field for human activity than that which was offered by the determinism of the Nineteenth Century. The world was conceived at that time linking necessary laws that crossed each other forming the subtle embroidery of existence. ... In such a world, human action lacked originality. ... It was the inevitable result of the action of cosmic energy on a specific point. ...

Today we do not deny ... the generality of the laws or the efficacy of abstraction. However, we must find a fixed point for our most certain institutions. ... We consider that natural laws do not constitute the essence of things, but only the procedure by which we understand them. ... A creative intuition was needed, the genius of Newton and Darwin, in order to apply the organic determinism of reason to the solar system and to life in the universe.

As meditation withdraws more from the rigid schemes of logical and mathematical determinism; as we pass from astronomical to physical, then to biological and finally to psychological law, the false reasoning of determinism looks poorer all the time. ... Then existence has a new meaning for the ends of our action. The world does not govern us any more; we can rule it. ... We used to be but episodes of evolution. Now we are the makers of the life we live, artists of behavior, masters of our own reality. ...

We used to be defeated by fatality. Now we will defeat it. ... The objectives of this moment will be the world of the future. ... We will convert the dream into life and the design into truth. This is our task. We must choose that which must die in ourselves. Give to the flow of time that which we do not care to perish: ... love that forgives, a will that dares and a genius that invents.

May the first vice be called laziness and the first virtue enthusiasm. Something exists that like us, summarizes itself into an impulse of creation, invention and heroism. ...

To command and to obey are two extremely unpleasant acts. To command belongs to tyrants. To obey belongs to the irresponsible. To command is to deprive others. To obey is to deprive ourselves. Man, in that which is human, must not subject himself or subject others to himself. Persuade him, substitute command with persuasion. Do not dominate, but set an example.

Force does not solve problems, for he who is more powerful commands. He does not conquer because he commands, but because he is strong. ... Morality and strength are as incommensurable as body and spirit. ... The Kantian notion of duty was completely foreign to the noble moral philosophy of the Greeks. They taught goodness and virtue, but not duty. ... "Morality for morality's sake" was senseless to them. Morality for life was important. ... The Greeks always had "the sense of the land" of which Nietzsche speaks. ...

Neither did Jesus Christ teach dead rules containing the precision of algebraic theorems, but pleasant motives for action. The Gospel says that all of the Law and the prophets are summarized in loving God and our neighbor (Mk 12:30,31). Christian charity is an enthusiasm, an act of supreme persuasion.

Man is the only creature capable of morality. ... To persuade is the most urgent and the highest of human occupations. How can we persuade morally? ...

Abstract treatises on philosophy cannot be offered to the people as norms for action. It is possible to indicate to them that superior human beings are those that have a realized human nature. Heroes, martyrs and saints surpass the rest. ... Nothing is perfect yet. Man has not finished making himself. There are superior and inferior men. ... All of us must be superior, good, wise, daring and great. Be like

those whom you admire have been. This is the foundation of immortality.

Imitate the wise in their prudence; the heroes in their strength; the saints in their virtue. ... Above everything else, imitate Jesus. "The Imitation of Christ" was the title of the ascetic book that comforted more souls in the West than any other book. However, the imitation of Jesus Christ in the life of St. Francis of Assisi is closer to truth than the inhuman pages of Kempis.

The only duty is to be as superior as those that are superior. Nietzsche says, "Do you want to return to the beast rather than surpass man?" Nietzsche's error is to think that that which has not yet been accomplished must be surpassed. Man has not been realized. When we have completed his formation, then we can talk about the superman. In the mean time, the generous message of Zarathustra is only an unintelligible utterance. ...

Pessimism and optimism -great contrasts- are confused in one point, just like all extremes: the mandatory negation of moral action. ... Both the greatest and most worthless life reduces human effort to nothingness. Action can only be understood in an imperfect world that can be made perfect through willpower. The universe of Leibnitz and Schopenhauer excludes all notion of activity. Yet, optimism is more immoral than pessimism. ... All true idealism implies movement of disgust for reality.

Life has two aspects. It is exoteric and esoteric, trivial and deep, selfish and selfless, stoic and epicurean, biological and moral. Some only see the outside. These are the ethicists of pleasure, of happiness without virtue. ... Life seeks pleasure, but it strives before it finds it. Happiness is not the result of idleness, but the patrimony of courage.

The virtuous are called enterprising. No life is possible without desiring to struggle, to improve. ... Ingrinsically, to live is to pursue victory, in spite of blind matter. Life is a desire for new forms, pure and victorious.

But the "struggle for life" of naturalists; selfishness that always seeks its own advantage, the soothing pleasure that seeks rest are also true. ... When pleasure ethicists recommend that all laws of action must involve the seeking and achieving of one's own pleasure, they ignore that an action that does not renew itself does not bring pleasure. ...

If you want to be happy, mold the human clay that you have. Make it speak all languages. Give it a hidden sonority, as the morning breeze that made Memnon's statue vibrate. Transform yourselves into unending activity. ... Then you can see that to a world that has not realized itself corresponds a morality that will accomplish it. Life has been daring since its inception. Selfishness protects that which

exists. Altruism insinuates that which is to come. ... But altruism and selfishness together, virtue and pleasure, present reality and the project of future realities, fact and design, present and virtual, all complete and help each other. Thanks to those who seek their own pleasure, the impetuous current that feeds effort and sanctifies virtue goes on.

Humanity is the army of God. It is will that has been enlightened by reason. Life struggled without knowing what it wanted. Man intuitively moves toward the vital impulse.

A daring archer aimed at a star. As the Imperial Sagittarius of the Aztec legend, he let go the cord and the whistling arrow followed its course. The human will shall nail it in the Sun.

APPENDIX F

JOSE EUSEBIO RICAURTE'S SERMON FOR THE GROUNDBREAKING
OF THE CHAPEL FOR A HOSPITAL FOR THE POOR

Félix Herrero Salgado's Bibliography of Spanish sermons has several sermons that were preached in Spain for the inauguration of hospitals or religious orders for the service of the poor. These sermons have not been available for this study. However, Ricaurte's sermon is not listed by Herrero because it was not preached in Spain. It was preached in Colombia the 29th of August of 1926.¹ It illustrates the thinking concerning social issues presented in this type of sermons.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOSE EUSEBIO RICAURTE

José Eusebio Ricaurte was born in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1893.² His surname is not very common in Spanish, however, in Colombia, it is very important. A department, or state of the country has this name. This means that one of the heroes of the country had this surname. Actually, two of the heroes of Colombian independence were Joaquín and Antonio Ricaurte. José Eusebio was related to this family and to the Nariño family,³ another of the heroic families of the country.

José Eusebio Ricaurte was ordained to the priesthood in 1916. He received a doctorate in philosophy in Colombia and another one in theology in Rome. He was not considered to be the most eloquent

¹*Los Jovenes Oradores Sagrados* (Bogotá: Minerva, 1936), p. 11.

²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

preacher in Colombia, but he did reach the majority of his listeners. In 1936 he was sought to preach to the churches in which society gathered, preaching two or three times every Sunday.⁴

II. COLOMBIA: 1920 - 1940

Different from the countries to the south, Colombia is a mestizo country rather than an indian country. During the Nineteenth Century it was governed by caudillos that came up by the force of arms representing the two main parties, the Conservative and the Liberal. These parties represent deep hatred between the people of the land. It is considered to be an 'inherited hatred.' They are as two peoples living side by side, needing each other, and hating each other for all eternity. This hatred is greater than in other countries. During the 1920s, both parties became better organized and their hatred ceased to be the result of the heroics of one or another individual.⁵ This was the time when Ricaurte began to preach.

At that time the country was governed by the Conservative Party. In 1930 there was a peaceful transference to the Liberal Party under Enrique Olaya Herrera, who governed the country until 1934. He was succeeded by Alfonso López, who proclaimed a very mild Agrarian Law in 1936 that never went into effect.⁶ The Catholic Church opposed this at that time. However, in 1926, when Ricaurte preached the sermon to be

⁴Ibid.

⁵Robert H. Dix, *Colombia: the Political Dimensions of Change* (New Haven" Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 36, 205-214.

⁶Ibid., pp. 77-88.

considered below the government was Conservative. There was complete understanding between the Catholic Church and the government.

IV. ENGLISH TEXT OF THIS SERMON

Because of the circumstances presented above, this was a very significant sermon. The President of the country, the Apostolic Nuncio and the Archbishop were all present. The English text of this sermon in an abbreviated form is as follows:⁷

Today we have not gathered for a feast that will bring us worldly enjoyment or a spectacle for our curiosity. Christ invites us here today, to this royal palace, to this house that is the sanctuary of His charity, among the poor and those that suffer, who are His chosen companions and His best friends.

Today we begin a tabernacle for God, who does not need temples made by the hands of men (Acts 17:24), for the stars are His footprints and the heavens the rug under His feet. However, He for whom the heaven of heavens is insufficient (1 Kg 8:27) is happy to live with the unfortunate. ... There is not house that is more appropriate for Him, the Saviour of mankind, than this place where some are saved from illness and death and others attain eternal and absolute salvation; here where science struggles against physical pain, where the charity of Christ embalms the pains of body and soul.

It is easy to place a cornerstone, as so many have been placed; however, this act today is honored by your presence, noble ladies. ... Your presence, distinguished gentlemen and executives, tells us that you not only know how to concern yourselves with important matters, but that you also look upon the infant and the one who suffers. You want to place yourselves in contact with pain and to extend your hand to the afflicted that he may not be lonely.

In the name of the poor sick persons to whom you bring joy on this day, of the sisters, who represent divine Providence to the poor, and of the physicians of this hospital, I express my appreciation for your indulgence in coming to this event. This means that "the very noble and very loyal" Bogotá, who had in its bosom Saint Pedro Claver, ... today, as Saint Isabel of Hungary, knows how to leave its luxuries to dress the poor and to heal with its aristocratic hands the wounds of suffering. Your presence here says that this hospital has not been abandoned, for Bogotá still follows the teachings of Christ, the comforter of the poor. It still is one of the cities in which the greatest amount of charity is practiced.

In the midst of a society debased by idolatry, that had all the vices in its altars, a society in which the poor, just for being so last all their rights, the Church of Jesus Christ was founded. ... The Church had the honor of founding this hospital. ... The charity that this very same Church has taught has achieved this miracle. ... However, this still is the house of pain. Great tragedies and woes that can only be compared to those of the Idumean patriarch, who exhaled the deepest complaints that desperate pain and boredom produce in the poor human heart; ... and here, ladies and gentlemen, there still is room for Him who said, "Come to me all ye who suffer, and I will heal you" (Mt 11:28). Christ is the only comfort, He provides the only answer to human pain. Science struggles against pain and sometimes it heals material pain; but Christ ennobles pain; He gives the balm that heals all pain and exchanges it with the coin with which the joys of eternal peace are purchased. Not only the bodies, but also the souls suffer here beyond the abilities of the physician or the surgeon. Only the loving voice of Jesus calms the storms (Mk 4:36-41), be they turbulent or secret, even more so if they are deeper and deeper. ...

Why shouldn't this house contain Jesus Christ, since it is for many the threshold of eternity? ... "Woe to him who suffers," was shouted by pagan societies while they were suffocating in the vilest vices. "Blessed are those who cry" (Mt 5:4), shouted Christ, and the echo of His voice still resounds from one generation to another. ... He who is the balm that strengthening souls makes material suffering more bearable, and the light that brightens with superhuman comforts and ultraterrestrial hopes that only He knows how to bestow.

I imagine the divine Master as He walked in Galilee and in Tyre and Sidon, healing the lepers, here those who were blind from birth, there bringing comfort to the Canaanite woman or giving the joy of forgiveness to the humble sinful lady at the offering vases; doing good to all, leaving a word of comfort to the unsteady soul and a seed of peace to every heart. In like manner He passes through the hallways of this hospital, alive in the form of the Host for those that go to the country from which there is no return, granting forgiveness to those that fear Him before taking His place as the judge of eternal sentences. ... If, according to the beautiful image of Scriptures, heaven is the palace of God that is built by the angels ... and our souls have been chosen to form and adorn it in different forms to serve in God's throne and shine there forming the palace of the elect where as Christ told us, the Father has built many mansions (Jn 14:2), so that heavenly Jerusalem may be ... the queen dressed for the wedding of the Lamb. The shop in which these precious stones are prepared is this life. ... This makes this hospital a sacred place, for it is the threshold of heaven and the place in which the elect are purified. ...

However, Jesus Christ does not have here His mansion only to bring comfort, but also to encourage these heroic souls, those virgins converted into comforting angels who live to make the unfortunate to feel that the Father of mercies still extends His Providence to mortals; who have left their homes ... to come to serve some sick who most

of the time do not know how to appreciate their service. ... Great is their sacrifice; but it is not momentary, but of a lifetime, ... and because of this they need Him for whose love they did comfort them in their moments of temptation. They need the personal presence of Jesus Christ, who brought joy to the shop in Nazareth and filled with warmth the heart of the disciples of Emmaus.

Soon the sanctuary in which the prayer of the troubled heart ascends will be erected here. This prayer is compared to the perfume of incense when burnt by the fires of tribulation, and its needle will indicate heaven with a compass that points to the end of our pilgrimage.

APPENDIX G

FRAY ALBINO GONZALEZ MENENDEZ-REIGADA'S
CHRISTIAN GUIDELINES FOR A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

Fray Albino González Menéndez-Reigada presented a series of six lectures on social problems in the International University of Menéndez Pelayo. He presented these lectures between the sixteenth and the twenty-first days of August of 1948. They must have made quite an impact, since they were published in Madrid the following year. These lectures had as their objective the presentation of ideas that would help to achieve the solution of the social problems of Spain.

The university in which he presented his lectures is located in northern Spain. González was at that time the Bishop of Córdoba in southern Spain. It is clear from his lectures that he was better acquainted with the situation in his part of the country than in northern Spain.¹

I. THE PRESENT CRISIS AND THE NEED OF A REFORMATION IN OUR SOCIETIES

This lecture presents a commentary on the situation they were living, a situation inherited from the Nineteenth Century. The English abbreviation of this lecture is as follows:²

To say that things are going wrong in the world is an illness ... that has been with us throughout history. ... This means that

¹Albino González Menéndez-Reigada, *Directrices Cristianas de Ordenación Social* (Madrid: Seminario de Problemas Hispanoamericanos, 1949), pp. 6-8.

²Ibid., pp. 11-46.

perfection is impossible in this world. ... In our days, ... restlessness and complaining seem to be suddenly increasing. ... When has it been more difficult ... to establish at least a provisional peace, with a few assurances that war will not surface at any moment? ...

Lack of unity is the characteristic of a savage state. ... It is a state of permanent war of all against all or of each one against each individual is fighting, but the party, the union, the class. This makes the struggle worse. ... Even among the peoples that are more intimately related by blood and by culture there have developed very deep points of separation. ...

Europe ... is living ... out of charity. ... Europe does not suffice itself. ... Europe is about to lose ... its own personality, its own independence. ...

That optimism with which the twentieth century began has changed completely. ... Humanity is living under the influence of terror. Among the personal rights that are desired today, to live without fear is one of the most important. This is not a superstitious fear. ... It is the fear of a free man. The fear of a humanity without God, that is terrified of itself. It proves that Gospel principle, that man is his own worst enemy (Mt 10:36). ... Fear of nature, and even more fear of other human beings. ...

This is true both in the personal and the social order. Just as it is required of man that he deny himself in order to be filled with God, that he should place God in his own place, until "I live no more, but Christ lives in me (Gt 2:20), so ... it is necessary that a portion of God may be seen in him and in us ... that He, who is Love, may find Himself in all of us in an embrace of infinite love.

The greatest effort of humanity was to dispense with God in order to believe only in humanity. When it considered that it reached its aim, it discovered that its humanity had evaporated, and only an enemy remained. This is a great truth, ... when humanity dispenses with God, the devil comes to occupy the vacated places. ...

II. The present crisis ... began with the century. ... The first voices that denounced the illness and the danger, ... as those of all prophets, ... were received with screams of opposition and protest. ... Only "seers" could notice the illness. ... The twentieth century, as was said, shall be the century of humanity. Mankind will be designed scientifically. ... Criminality, the result of ignorance and illiteracy, shall disappear. The same is true of physical misery. Socialism will make sure that this happens. It tends to be omnipotent. Women will be freed. ... Since culture will reach all of humanity, ... progress ... will be so high and accelerated that no one can even dream the extent of well-being and happiness. ... War will cease. ... Diplomacy will see to it and the ever increasing sense of democracy and universal brotherhood that will be imposed upon all, "as", according to Tonquedec, "the hurricane, that bends in its direction all of the trees

of the forrest." Wars were something of kings and tyrants. The people never want them. ... International socialism will never fight against socialists of another nation. ... Pacifists leagues ... would force problems to be solved by the International Court of the Hague. ...

Clouds began to appear over this optimistic background which forewarned catastrophic storms. ... Paul Bourget, until that time a positivist, liberal and optimistic, had written a book entitled *Le Disciple*. This book was a terrible attack against all liberal and irresponsible literature of the time. ... Another warning that could be considered apocalyptic was heard in France. If liberty ... moved the masses, Science ... was the idol before whom all of humanity worshipped (cf. Ph 2:10). ... Suddenly, a voice was heard stating that Science had failed (*La Faillite de la Science*, by Brunetier). ... What was later called by a Spanish writer "the rebellion of the masses" was being emphasized, ... that is, a protest against everything that exists. ...

As far as the individual was concerned, two contradictory phenomena took place: the exaggerated crimes of the anarchist, ... and the no less exaggerated suicide of the successful. Both had in their thinking and in literature their determining and reflexive factors (anachic Russian literature, *Werter*, *Il Fuoco* ...). ... Another author published in Paris *Tristesse Contemporaine* (Fierens Gevaert), characterizing sorrow as the characteristic of civilization. The British responded publishing books indicating the way to achieve "peace and happiness". ... The Americans published books ... on practical psychology, ... as those of O.S. Marden.

III. In the mean time, a Scandinavian by birth (Jørgensen), but German by culture, ... concluded ... that each step south, culture and civilization decayed, while happiness as well as well being increased. Under these circumstances, what was the use of science? ... Someone answered that science had not failed, for it was not its objective to provide humanity with happiness, but with the truth. ... We could state that truth perfects humanity, and everything that is perfect must bring about happiness and not misfortune. ...

This condition of the spirit was so oppressive and deep that when World War I began, even though it was the negation of all of the ideals of the beginning of the century, many rejoiced, considering it was the means of escape. ... The ... definitely was an escape, but at what a price! Consider the book *No News from the Front*. ... The problem of the void and of inner lack of satisfaction appeared once more in a more tragic form. "*La chair est triste; hélas! ...* " "*Fecisti nos, Domine, ad Te et Iniquum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in Te...* "

However, when it ended in 1918 there was another brief period of happiness and optimism. ... Wilson's Fourteen Points began the program of the new era. The League of Nations was created, without destroying the Court of Peace of the Hague. ... The more simplistic came to believe that humanity had once more found its route. ... However, it was soon

evident that neither in Geneva nor anywhere ... were things going in the right direction. A terrible economic crisis; ... constant increase of crime, ... such as gangsterism; juvenile delinquency, ... practically unknown in the past. Bolchevism appeared, with its communistic and godless program. ...

Optimism vanished in thin air. ... Spengler came with his biological doctrine on civilizations, proving that ours was dying. H. Massis wrote on the same subject *Le Defense d'Occident*. ... There were also works of Papine, ... such as *Gog*. ...

In the midst of all of this comes the ... frightening explosion of World War II. ... New programs to establish a new order ... appear once more; The Atlantic Charter; the Four Fundamental Liberties; the United Nations; ... However, even with all of this, not even a peace treaty in its simplest form has been attained. ...

The intellectual level has diminished, even where there is no more illiteracy. Men of moral worth are very scarce. ... This has been proved by A. Carrel. ... All of this seems to prove clearly that all of the aims that were to be achieved in the Twentieth Century, not a single one has been accomplished. ... Because of this there is a strong desire for a new order, a new Christianity, a new structure of modern society, a new social justice. All of these have practically been unknown, much less practiced.

IV. Is civilization's illness incurable? ... Is its death unavoidable? German racists believed this when they followed Hegel's, Fichte's, Nietzsche's and Spengler's doctrines and brought to an end with Rosenberg the "myth of the Twentieth Century", the myth of race and blood. They endeavored to lift up once more ... the social structure and that was in ruins upon a completely pagan, materialist and atheist plan. ... The Bolchevics also believed in the definitive and fatal ruin of our civilization and the social structures upon which it is built. ... Their doctrine is pure Marxism, which is also materialistic and atheistic, with a new morality and new ideals. ... Their supreme good is the triumph of Bolchevism. ... The individual is worthless. Selfishness is not based on the "myth of race or blood", as with Hitler, but on the myth .. of class. ..

V. "A New Christianity" ... has emerged recently in France. J. Maritain is its main speaker. Several years ago he converted to the Catholic faith. He has written many commendable books, such as *La Primauté du Spirituel*.

The "New Christianity" is not ... a "New Christianity". Thinking of a new Christianity, in which the newness refers to the human element, included in all Christianity. ... This indicates apparently that Maritain does not believe that present civilization may be cursed, but something completely new is needed. ... His enemies understood it in this manner, such as Menvielle, in his book *De Lamennais a Maritain*,

in which he analyzes all Maritian's doctrines, indicating the contradictions between the new Maritian and the former one, besides those with Lamenaïs and other theoreticians of Social Reform, down to Marc Sagnier, which have been constantly rejected by the Church. ... If he manages to avoid Rome's condemnation, his disciples and his system will not be able to do so. It is also clear, that a Christianity without Rome does not seem to be feasible today. ...

It must be borne in mind that the Renaissance boasted of having discovered humanity. The ... change of course given to History ... was characterized ... in making everything revolve around man, instead of around God, as in the Middle Ages. Because of this, ... another movement is beginning in France, ... *Economie et Humanisme*. ... The humanism that is proposed ... is an "integral humanism", adding... that new element by which modern man discovered himself. ... This seems to make reference to the masses, but this will only ... prolong and deepen the sense that the Renaissance gave to the modern world. ... To continue building upon man is to forget that "nobody can put another foundation, except that which has been placed: Jesus Christ" (1 Co 3:11).

A. Carrel, on the other hand, indicates that modern man had completely lost consciousness of himself. ... Is this also part of Maritian's discovery? ... If this were the case; ... it would only improperly be humanism, it would rather be Christianity. ...

An effort then is made to serve us the same food with a different sauce. When only man is seen, only ... the self is seen. ... "Moi, moi, toujours moi ... Je ne veux plus de moi ...", was written several years ago by a French writer. When modern man arrives at this misery of a conclusion, ... in his desperation he can only go to Omnipotent God in order not to shoot himself, so that He may free him from self, which enslaves and tortures, as existentialists prove to us today.

VI. On the other hand, we believe that Christian Civilization, ... even though it has Greek and Roman Blocks in its structure can be fundamentally healed. ... What must be done is a deep revision, re-viewing ... the elements of its structure: human person, ... sociability ... the true concept of ownership; social justice; and finally the economic structure of modern societies, both in their industrial and agrarian scope.

These are the subjects of our following lectures. ... They shall only consider these subjects from a panoramic perspective, with definite indications that will serve as guidelines. Because of this the over all heading is "Christian Guidelines of Social Order." Since the subject of private property is the one that has been discussed more often by us, it will be eliminated, supposing that what the Church says on this subject, ... is known by all our listeners of readers.

II. THE HUMAN PERSON

In this sermon González begins to present basic principles of social action. In this case he speaks of the importance of the human person. The English abbreviation of this sermon is as follows:³

I. Ernest Psichari, grandson of Renan, tells us that one day he was leading some African troops in the desert when the interpreter, African and Mohammedan ... asked him, "What do you believe about Jesus?" He adds that the question bothered him considerable. ... As a child he had learned the doctrines of his grandfather, and accepted them without any discussion, as a dogma. ... The question disturbed him, for he was under the obligation for the first time of answering a question that he was not prepared to answer. ...

Why did Europe civilize and dominate the world? ... Why was he in charge? ... Was it not because even not realizing it, he was a Christian? Psichari answered that Jesus is God, and that is the reason for Europe being more than Africa and the rest of the globe. ...

Psichari considered himself to be an educated man. He had read much and even published some books. ... However, in this case he was more than a mere individual. ... Modern culture had lowered him so much that he ignored it all concerning the fundamental problems to direct life.

This is the point of departure, the restoration of man, the understanding of that which man is, "that unknown," according to Carrel. ... Man is formed physically, but not psychologically. ... The child, the young man and man himself are abandoned to themselves because of respect. They are left to their own instincts, as in the beginning of history, thirty centuries ago.

II. The restoration of man must begin with the restoration of his reasoning powers. ... Luther, Desecrates and Kant represent three definite stages in this decadence: free examination, methodic doubt or former scepticism, negation of the knowledgeability of the essence of things. ...

The return to nature is clearly understood on this basis of desolating scepticism, this return to the instincts, which characterized the modern period, from Rousseau (and even Bergson) down to all the modern educators. Nature is holy and good. Society deprives it. Original sin is denied, as well as the destiny of man. ... The individual is the lowest common denominator. ... It is the loneliness of the wild. ... Truth does not matter. ... What is good? Which is the model?

³Ibid. , pp. 49-85.

Whatever is best for each one. The objective is lacking. .. There are no acquired truths that must be honored upon which progress may be built, but we are in a constant renewal. People learn how to read, but not what to read. ... They may read whatever they may want to read, most of the time that which is bad. ... Because of this modern man lives with out ideas, much less with out ideals, the mother of ideas.

III. Because of all this, inner liberty barely exists. ... It is extremely doubtful that in spite of the lip service rendered, man may increase in freedom every day. Liberty needs a supporting system. When this is lacking, instinct takes control, and this always ends in slavery.

The frase, "Since mankind learned to read and declared itself free, it became foolish" probably hurts so much because of its considerable truthfulness. It lost its wisdom, ... which came partially from Christianity and partially from secular tradition, with its sayings, stories and legends, and it was left to dreft with out a helm. ... The only conclusion it may come to is scepticism ... and eternal rebellion against all authority: mankind is sovereign.

An effort is made to impose certain myths ... upon this sceptical background, ... such as liberty, democracy, raciality, economical equality, etc. ... Let us consider briefly the two myths that are worshiped the most in our days: liberty and democracy. Notice how easily the masses renounce them, sacrificing them knowingly upon the altar of Bolchevism. ... Democracy has a measure of legitimacy and decency; nut as happens with anything human, both things have their limits. ... In order to discover these limits ... a superior truth must be taken into account: the truth of man as a person, with his essential obligations and rights, as ordered for a higher end, for whose purposes everything must be ordered. ...

This is man's position, ... believing that he has more freedom because he has cast the compas overboard and that he has destroyed the helm, uprooting from his soul convictions and ideals. ... The first thing that is needed to order human societies ... is to rebuilt mankind.

IV. The first thing that is needed to accomplish this is Philosophy. ... Present philosophy is merely critical and destructive. ... Humanity needs something essential. We must go back in history to set foot on solid ground.

This was seen by Leo XIII ... during the last third of the last century. ... St. Thomas' philosophy is everlasting. ... Read the great *Introducción a la Psicología Experimental* of Fr. Manuel Barbado and notice ... how the great conclusion of Thomist psychology find their greatest confirmation today in the most conscientious laboratory research. ... Oppresing realities ... were foreseen and anounced in time (Alonso Cortés, Aparisi, Mella) ...

The *a priori* spirit was rejected, despising the past, as though

we were the only ones to conquer wisdom. ... What we must do is to try to find truth ... without rejecting the advice of those that preceded us, above all, of him who climbed the greatest heights of human wisdom: St Thomas Aquinas.

V. Emmanuel Kant, after considering all our intellectual world and not finding anything solid upon to stand, ... came upon an irrefutable force, with a categorical, unconditional imperative. This was the principle of Moral Law. ... In an analysis of that imperative he saw the need of a legislator, ... a legislature, ... and a penalty. ... Since this does not happen in this life, another imperative remains in this truth: the survival of the human soul. ...

Human conduct must then be consistent in the things that count, for all mankind is subject to the same law. ... Kant does not go beyond this. Without thinking about it, he had found God, the spiritual soul and natural or moral law. By pure reason he had formerly denied all of these. ...

Alexis Carrel, a scientist, found once more ... that substantial element of "unknown man," ... called soul. ... Bergson, a philosopher, ... timidly deduces ... that the God with whom they communicate is objectively real, ... always the same.

We already know the truth; but the proofs upon which it is built may always be renewed and confirmed by new processes. ... It is urgent to penetrate decidedly and without prejudice the field of philosophical research. ...

Great efforts are being made at present to build upon ... sand (Mt 7:26). We could even say to build with sand upon sand, without ... the unity and cohesion that every building -unum ex pluribus- needs. "Truly, -said the Pope- ... (the 13th of July when he received the Ambassador from Ecuador), ... if there is something that characterizes the present hour, it is precisely the lack of results. ... There is reason for this, the lack of conscience of a basic code of ethics recognized by all, morally binding and absolute. ..." Objective truth "Always sets us free." makes us ... men. ...

We do not want to stop and make cheap philosophies, that some may consider to more than philosophy, pulpit rhetoric. We only want to indicate directions for that social order that all of us seek. ... The first thing to change for this is man himself, it was necessary to indicate the basis upon which such a reform must take place. A liberal soul, a transcendent end, a Moral Law, a Legislator and Supreme Ratifier of such a law. ... This is very simple. ... Not many deny them openly; but to take them seriously and make them normative in life, very few do such a thing. ... It is not easy for man to discover truth by himself, ... St. Thomas says that these are "very few, after much time and mixing many errors." ... Even after they know it, it is even harder to suppress passion and instinct to adjust our way of life to our conscience. Pilate's case is repeated (Jn 18:37). Christ is the truth

(Jn 14:6). He came to this earth to bear witness to truth (Jn 8:14), and the Church holds the deposit of this truth. ...

Man is a lawless being. Can it be expected that he be good all of a sudden and by himself? ... Hermits have said many times that man achieves perfection only by renunciation and voluntary sacrifice. ... In order to love such a sacrifice ... something worthy must attract him, an ideal that is higher than animal instinct and matter. Where is such an ideal? ...

More than anything else ... we are witnessing the fall of the idols, the decadence of myths. The only one that remains, probably in the first stage of its agony, is the communist myth. ...

At the same time, the principle that elevates humanity for all time also remains, ... Christ Himself with His doctrine, the Light that shines on the world, with its grace, power (virtus) that changes even the weakest in heroes and martyrs. It is justice ... and love. ...

Here we have restored humanity. That which sin took away, the Redemption of Christ restores; light, power, freedom, justice, love. ... Free, as St. Paul, carrying chains in Roman jail, ... completely human, and desiring to bear in himself and in others all that is humanly worthy to make it divine. ... That is today's, as well as yesterday's IDEAL. That is Man. ...

The Middle Ages understood it in this way. Renaissance changed the course of history, trying to retain only humanity. The XIXth Century, more than anything else tried to set aside all supernatural elements, to set aside Christ. Today we are witnessing the end of its work: the destruction of society, of the human person.

This makes it urgent to restore everything in Christ. ... To make Him our human-divine ideal, for Christ is the true and exemplary MAN. ...

III. HUMAN SOCIABILITY

After presenting the worth of the individual, González speaks of his need of belonging to a group, to society. This sermon also meets the challenge of principles of social action. Its English abbreviation or abstract is as follows:⁴

⁴Ibid., pp. 89-129.

A millionaire suffered a serious accident far from civilization. He was left wounded by the wayside. ... A few minutes later a physician passed by. He told him, ... "I can help you, ... but I want to tell you that my services will cost you one million dollars."

There were many babies in the hospital of an orphanage. ... It was necessary to change their formula, ... because the milkmen were on strike.

In the postwar crisis, ... while some died of hunger, there were store-keepers ... that had their stores full of wheat and cooking oil, while at their doors, the bodies of those that had died of hunger were constantly being carried to their graves. ...

These three cases are ... only variations of the parable of Our Saviour (Lk 10:30-37), in which a traveler, wounded by thieves, was left by the wayside while men passed by, leaving him to die.

Here is a problem, that generally is classified as charity. ... Today, while social justice is presented as a doctrine, there is also a problem of justice. ... The basic problem is that of human sociability. Does one person have anything to do with another person? ... Is the mighty, above all, under any obligation to help the weak? ... All men ... are our neighbors. A neighbor must be loved. Love must manifest itself in works. ...

The Gospel is very clear. ... The Samaritans had separated themselves from the Jews both in politics and in religion. They broke their national and religious unity, which the Jews naturally disliked. ... The question of Jesus to the Pharisee must also be considered. "Who ... do you consider to have been the neighbor, that is, to have acted as a neighbor, with the wounded Samaritan?" (Lk 10:36). ... This means that this category of neighborliness must be discovered in others and in ourselves. It is a category of action. ... We must go to others, with a sacrifice in proportion to their needs and our possibilities. All of this has a strange sound today, ... since human sociability lost its moral character to become a game of interests ... without solid foundations, threatening as it were, death (Mt 7:27; Rv 13:3). ... The Modern Period of history began proclaiming the independence of individual reason. ... Is there any need to be surprised at the confusion that is found in our days in the national and international spheres? ...

II. The physical needs of humanity are often analyzed to demonstrate his sociability. The same is true of its intellectual and moral needs. ... As a child, elderly person or in illness, others are certainly needed to sustain life. ... If nature induces us to live in society, God, the creator of nature, pushes us in that direction. ...

The savage enters civilized life against his will. Even after tasting it, he renounces it to return to his former ways. Missionaries

have indicated this many times. ... General Aldave, after taking an abandoned Arab girl educated her in Madrid, adopted her as his only heir. ... When she was twenty she disappeared, ... preferring to live in poverty with her own rather than choose civilization. ...

A Belgian spoke of his admiration for Andalucians: "It is another way of conceiving life. In Belgium, work to death to have a few more things. Here, ... be satisfied with less to work less. ... I am not sure that the Belgians are right." It was the lot of a young lady to care for the cibory of a town in the mountains. When she visited it for the first time she was informed that ... near it was a very sick old man living in poverty. ... She had a bed brought for him with a mattress, sheets and requested that the old shepherd be placed in it. As soon as this was done, he screamed, "Help! Get me out!" This had to be done in order to leave him as he was before.

It is said that ... when Socrates was passing some rich stores he told his pupils: "My children, let us thank God for all the things that we do not need." From St. Augustine: "It is better to need less, than to have more." ...

If we consider intellectual or cultural needs, ... the majority enter the ways of culture by force. A man that did not know how to read used to say, "Why should I learn how to read? To read communist papers like my friends? ... Not me."

In a former lecture we considered human nature. We found a law. ... The first commandment of that law, engraved in the deepest part of our nature by its Author is ... "Do good, avoid evil" (Ps 34: 14; 37:27).

This is not a selfish law, from the lower to the higher, ... but rather a superior law, compared to all selfishness. ... The precept "Be ye perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect" (Mt 5:48) has its deeper roots in natural law, in human reason. ... The first nature, ... its specific essence, is the same in all. The second nature, a personal one, is different in each one. ... The final end is the same for all; but secondary ends must be different for each one. ...

All of this comes from reason. ... All of this is contained in the command to do good (Ps 34:14). ... "Be ye perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect" (Mt 5:48). Something is added to these words: One model, ... God, ... to be perfect as God is perfect, who makes it to rain over good and evil (Mt 5:45), sociability is firmly entrenched upon this.

The precept ... has been based upon more precise precepts, such as the commandments of the Law of God, made perfect by Christ in the Gospel, which form the basic code of all human society. ... There is no society that does not take them as their base, either throughout history or in modern Bolchevism, nobody rejects them as a whole.

We say as a whole, because the Precepts of the first table, those that refer to God, have been despised. ... Above everything else, an effort was made during the Nineteenth Century to come to a morality without dogma. This is the same as building a house without foundations. ... Reason, so to speak, was to be silenced, ... to be able to walk more freely, in the dark. ...

Renan had foreseen this: "We live of the perfume of an empty container; and I tremble when I think on what will happen when that perfume disappears entirely." ... Unamuno, another rationalist, has plagiarized his words, saying that society lives as parasites. ... There still is Christian influence in the environment, even among those that are further removed from religious practices. ...

III. We can notice clearly the road that takes society to its ruin and the one that takes it to its reconstruction. When a building is in danger, its foundations must be repaired first. ... Human society has its foundation in natural moral law. As it develops more, it will need more morality. ... As this fails, society itself will fail. This is what is happening today. ...

Nobody can rise by himself to great heights. In a poor environment, it is not easy to rise from that level. ... When society is drowning, everybody drowns. When it rises, ... all of its members rise. An example is seen in conscientious objectors to war. If their thinking was accepted by all, the nation would have lost the war, they would also suffer severely the consequences of this. This had to be so, since man was made to live in society. ...

However, in countries of great wealth, there are cases of extreme poverty. This impresses more because of the contrasts between poverty and riches. ...

Only when the problem is planned morally and efforts rise to greater heights is that law of solidarity fulfilled. ... The Gospel confirms this: "Whatever you do to the least of my brothers, you do it to Me" (Mt 25:40). ... Jesus also teaches us that "for whatever we do to our brothers in His name and by His love, we shall receive in this life a hundredfold and finally eternal life (Mk 10:29,30; Mt 19:29).

If a completely Christian society, that would take Christ's teachings seriously ever came to exist, it would progress greatly. ... All would be satisfied completely. There would not be one case of unattended poverty. All would enjoy helping each other to the point of sacrifice. ... A Christian society could be our ideal. ... The Law would be enforced from the inside out. "The righteous," according to the Holy Spirit, "are law unto themselves" (Rm 2:14), for they feel, live and abide by it. That Christian society would be the kingdom of liberty, of "the liberty of the children of God" (Rm 2:14), according to St. Paul. A place of harmony, ... the Kingdom of God, at last, upon the earth.

The ideal of the Kingdom of God, foreseen by Isaiah, described in the Gospel; an ideal to be approached always, ... and for which, as believers, we must always struggle, even to the point of the greatest sacrifice.

IV. Even though we speak about the Gospel, ... we have not departed from pure reason. The Decalogue belongs fundamentally to this, and even the refinements, given to several of its precepts by Christ Himself in the Sermon on the Mount. ... Beyond this, seen through the telescope of faith, things are even better.

This does not detract from "grace perfecting nature" (2 Co 12:9). We should notice the efforts for good order in everything. ... Even more, Paul's mystical doctrine of the body of Christ makes us feel ... as members of one body, of which He is the head (1 Co 12:12-28; Eph 4:25; 1 Co 11:3; Eph 1:18,22,23). ... But this is theology, and we only want to make passing reference to it. ... Temporal order finds its fulfillment in supernatural order. "Nothing was brought to perfection by the Law" (Hb 7:19), says St. Paul, speaking of the old law, which was natural law, with some perfections, "but grace by Jesus Christ."

V. The foundation and the *raison d'être* of our sociability is the Law, implanted by God on man's reason. ... This way man is under obligation to fulfill the duties that society imposes upon him. This way, obedience to law and to authority is a matter of conscience. ...

It is not sufficient not to kill or hurt anyone, not to lie, not to take another man's wife, etc. (Ex 20; Mt 5). It is mandatory to do good positively; practice justice, charity and mercy. ... Christ Himself tells us that if our righteousness is not more than that of the scribes and pharisees, which is negative justice, we will not enter the kingdom of heaven (Mt 5:20). This is the basis to justify many of the obligations included today in social justice. ...

It is not enough not to hurt others. We must do good ... to all who are in need. ... We are not members of civil society of our own volition, but by the Law of God. ... When we speak of reason, we do not speak of subjective, individual reason, but of objective reason.

St. Thomas ... defines the law saying that it "is an ordinance of reason for the common good, proclaimed by the authority of the Omnipotent." ... Common good is not merely the sum of all of the particular goods in a given moment in society, but more than that, the good of all, is not properly ... that of the individual.

Reason is the principle ... of laws. ... The end of these laws, as well as of civil society is a common good, that is above individual good. The major premise is doctrine; the minor, the act; the conclusion, the law. ...

Authority then has no right to force its will, reasonable as it

may be, using abstract truths. ... Spain's war with the United States in 1898 was a popular war. ... Those that governed ... knew the outcome from the start. ... In these circumstances, Spain should not have gone to war, even though the masses asked for it. ... What must be done is to inform the masses. ...

Our lot is only to indicate a direction, indicating that human societies are not completely at the mercy of their members, much less of those that govern them, but they belong to a moral order, known by objective reason, and they are founded on a bond required by natural law, even more, by positive-divine Christian law, that exists between men and unites us all together.

IV. SOCIAL JUSTICE

This is González' last lecture on general principles of social justice. As the title indicates, it faces the problem directly. The English abbreviated version is as follows:⁵

In our last lecture we said that the principle upon which all sociability is founded is the moral-natural law. ... Law is an order that human reason discovers in all things. Reason does not make it, it discovers, formulates and accepts it. Reason depends on reality, it never creates it. ...

Justice, as regulator of essential relations among men presupposes two things: We consider one of these to be active, and the other passive, since justice has as its objective "to give to each his own." He who gives is in a way active, he who receives, passive. It is said that he who gives to someone that which belongs to him is fulfilling a duty; he who receives what is owed to him, acts upon a right.

Since justice is the measure and the rule of essential obligations among men, it must be divided in three parts: 1. Relation from man to man. ... 2. Relationship of the individual to society, from the part to the whole. ... 3. Finally, relations from the whole to the part, ... distributive justice. ...

One man has toward another the same obligation that this man has towards him (Mt 7:12). ... It seems as though he must return the same amount that he received or its equivalent. ... He received one kilo of bread, he must return one kilo of bread. Is this all? According to commutative justice this seems to be the case. ...

⁵Ibid., pp. 133-171.

If it is convenient for one person to receive one thing and for another to receive something else, and there is an exchange, an effort is made so that it may be of an equal value. The shoemaker exchanges a pair of shoes for a chair from the chairmaker. ... This is a little more complicated, ... and we are still in commutative justice, the easiest and most fundamental justice.

Before going ahead, it is well to establish some concepts. According to what we have said concerning justice, we notice that it has three elements: 1) a relationship with another person; 2) a reason for a debt, ... and 3) a measure of equality. ... Because of this lawyers change expressions: that which is his for his right; justice is to give to each his due. But what is the basis of this? ... How can a personal service ... be valued in material goods? ...

Things become complicated here. The *tantum pro tanto* is meaningless here. It is not possible to establish a mathematical equivalency. ... Because of this, certain things must be understood. We need, above all, to understand that we are moving on moral grounds. ... That which is right then changes completely, becoming, not something equal to that which has been given or is to be given, but an obligation of the end, the result of comparing that which is and that which must be, considering all circumstances. ... Only when this personal and human right is taken into consideration can we establish the concrete rights that could occur in each case. It must be understood that according to what we have stated, three elements enter into justice: the relationship to another, the reason for doubting and the measure of equality. ...

II. We must make a few statements concerning the second kind of justice, legal justice, that regulates the obligations of the citizen to society. ... Its immediate objective is the common good. ... To give to society that which belongs to it, ... would be to give it all, ... or nothing, for there are those who can consider that they have not received anything. ... Abstractly, we receive everything from society, including life, not only because our parents belonged to it, ... but because of the security it offers. ... Since we receive everything from society, it can ask us for everything, including life itself. ... In this sense, that which the citizen returns to society is always less than that which he receives, except when he must sacrifice life itself to defend it. However, ... not all receive goods from society in the same proportion. Because of this, not all must make the same contribution, this must be proportional. ...

III. The third kind of justice goes from the whole to the part, ... distributive justice. ... Its object is to give to each one according to ... his right. ...

Every country has a Penal Code. ... A measure of equality, ... a tooth for a tooth. ... In antiquity, almost all nations accepted it, because it is the simplest of all. ... It is not mere substitution of

personal vengeance, ... it is much more. Above the injury to the victim, there is an evil and injury made to society itself. ... The punishment seeks to repair a social misdeed ... to avoid its repetition. This seems to prove that Penal Law has as its immediate objective ... the common good, and only in second place private civil good. Ancient scholastics, ... indicate generally that the only objective of legal justice is the common good. ... Common good ... can only be distributed if society disappears. ... This means that society can ... only write a Civil Code, and grant occasionally an honorific distinction, even though at times it may be lucrative, as a reward to services made for the public good. ...

Society ... is not only the possessor of its own and of all, but also of that which belongs to everyone. ... Those who habitually read the Bible ... know very well those chapters of Leviticus (25:8-46), where God orders the distribution of the land every fifty years, renewing the original distribution. ... Actually, practically every nation of Europe has considered the problem of Agrarian Reform, which is only a distribution of the land. ... The latent protest that exists in our societies concerning the present distribution of wealth ... proves that it is the duty of the state to make a more equitable distribution of that which belongs to all.

The Pope himself (Pius XII), as well as his immediate predecessors, has stated many times that a society in which wealth concentrates in few hands while many lack everything is not well organized.

Let us analyze distributive justice briefly. A few seamen form a co-operative to rent a fishing boat. ... They agree on the proportional measure in which they will distribute their profits. ... However, there are days in which the catch is large, others in which it is very small. However, their needs do not have those fluctuations. ... Besides, there may be illness. ... The co-operative tries to foresee all of this and tries to satisfy all of these needs: it creates pensions for widows and the elderly, schools, etc. ... The co-operative is to help and supply personal deficiencies.

IV. Considering civil society, ... constituted ... by imposition of nature, of Moral Law, the application becomes even more necessary. Justice in this case ... requires an equal measure for those that are equal, unequal and proportionate, not to what they give, but to what those that are not equal need. ...

Is this still distributive justice? ... Evidently it is, for distribution of goods from the common fund ... is involved. ... It is unworthy for a distinguished family to have one of its members in poverty. Society is a great family. Because of its own dignity it must not ... allow any of its members to perish of hunger. ...

This ... justice is called social justice. ... Aristotle calls it political justice, which is the same, ... since the polis ...

was at that time the incarnation and representation of today's civil society. He says in *Ad Nicomachum*, Bk 5, Ch 10: "This political right (or social justice) is granted to those who being free or equal, live numerically or proportionately united in society or community of life, in order to have enough of that which is needed for life itself, without looking for anything on the outside. ... When this does not happen, it cannot be said that there is a political (social) justice, but a justice based on an appearance. When there is a common law, there must be a common justice." For Aristotle it is shameful for a complete civil society ... to have any of its members lacking that which is needed to live to have to seek it elsewhere. He adds that when a person takes more than his share or does less than his share he is failing this political justice. ... Aristotle then does not accept that there be too great a difference among the members of society in the possession of riches. The Popes repeat the same thing. However, Aristotle speaks in the name of pure reason, for the light of the Gospel had not arrived yet. ... It is true that this social justice did not include slaves for Aristotle, or foreigners, or children, only citizens in full enjoyment of their rights. ...

Passing over many centuries, let us consider some points from the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pius XI, which is the first one to speak clearly, as many as eight times, of social justice. Paragraph 25 ... says that ... "riches ... must be distributed among persons and classes in such a way that what Leo XIII calls the profit of all may be saved. ... This social law forbids that one class may eliminate another in the participation of the benefits" (p. 474). After indicating the way in which this law of economic equilibrium is violated ... it concludes: "Give to each his share of food, and distribute created goods according to the laws of common good or social justice for all see the danger of the present distribution of goods because of the great contrast between the few rich and the many poor." ... This means that an equitable distribution of wealth is the objective of social justice, which is the function of distributive justice, with which, according to this, social justice identifies itself. ... This means that the objective of this distributive justice is not the benefit of one person but of all. ...

The Pope presents this doctrine in other statements also. ... Paragraph 32 ... adds: "If present circumstances do not permit this, ask social justice that these reforms may be introduced as soon as possible, so that every adult worker may have this salary insured." Then he adds a statement concerning "the means by which remuneration may be adjusted to family needs." ... This is not strictly a remuneration that depends on work performed, belonging to commutative justice, but to another remuneration that depends on family needs. Paragraph 41 makes this clear: "Relationships ... must be regulated by the laws of a strict commutative justice, based on Christian charity." ... He ends this paragraph saying: "The Institutions of the land must incorporate all of society to the rules ... of social justice; this means that economical activity, an important function of social life, finds itself

within a healthy and equitable order of life." ...

Let us briefly analyze this: 1) An order that includes all of society ... in which those that work and those that do not work are included. ... 2) An order according to which all of society is concerned with the benefit of all. ... 3) An economic order bound by the laws of commutative justice, and restricted by society in general, ... by distributive justice ... and partly by this other justice, social justice. 4) This would result in a social order of healthy and equitable living. ...

Is social justice confused with one of those ancient forms of justice? No, ... but they participate of it to a greater or lesser extent, as members of society. ... Their function is ... distributive. They have a debt to society. ... Their reason for existence ... is that man is a member of society of equal men who are under moral obligation to help each other as Aristotle and St. Thomas have stated.

Man comes to this world with rights. Each right has an obligation. ... Modern society has emphasized the rights, but it barely pointed to the obligations. ... These only have their worth based on the Moral Law proclaimed and sanctioned by God Himself.

But, Who represents this society? ... Its most complete, though not exclusive representation is the State. ... It is not the only representative of society, ... but whoever participates more widely of the patrimony can be in the situation of having to distribute by clear or tacit order of the Government, or by personal decision hearing his own conscience a fairly great amount of goods to benefit the poor. ... This may not be charity, but true social justice, ... since as moralists say, this needy person may rightfully take that which belongs to others without any duty to return them anything. ... If he has the right to take that which belongs to others, the owner of property has the duty to give it to him. This doctrine can be confirmed with many texts from the Church Fathers as well as from canonical doctrine of Popes and Councils. ... Because of this the rich can consider their goods as their own administratively, but of the community in the distribution of their fruits. ...

All of this must be developed more fully; but here we must limit ourselves to present guidelines, not formulate doctrines or projects. Suffice it ... to affirm that there is hunger for social justice in all of modern society. It is born in moral law and finds in the Gospel ... its marvelous achievement. Well understood and applied, ... it would achieve "a social order of healthy and equitable living" that would guarantee peace and prosperity.

V. COMMERCIAL INTEREST OF MONEY AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM

González begins his practical applications of the principles he

has been presenting in this sermon. The abbreviation of the English version of this sermon is as follows:⁶

I. It is not easy to find a deeper feeling in mankind than that of justice. It is a strong feeling among savages, even though they do not practice it, as missionaries tell us. It is found in children, as soon as they begin to have use of reason. In both groups there is nothing that belittles the teacher or the missionary ... as much as to feel themselves to be victims of some injustice. ...

This primary feeling of justice includes both commutative and distributive justice. ... Even in these there are complaints and protests in seeing unequal treatment among those considered to be equals. ... This is ... a beginning ... of social justice. ... We began considering social justice in the last lecture, ... basing ourselves on the words of Pius XI, when he said that a good social organization ... can only exist upon a basis of precise commutative justice, adjusting everything ... to the rules of social justice, made complete ... by social charity. ...

Misdeeds against justice ... often develop volcanic explosions, whose boiling lava destroys everything in its path. We have seen many of these explosions throughout history, and today they are almost daily and endemic happenings.

This is because present society is not governed by these laws of justice, ... definitely not by social justice; for as stated by Pius XI, it is not according to its laws that some be extremely wealthy ... and others extremely poor. ... This terrible distribution ~~was~~ arrived at in many cases because of a poor application of commutative justice. Even applying it, there could be a poor distribution ... because things are in the hands of supply and demand, in which the powerful always win.

Because of this there should be a new distribution of wealth. ... There are slow processes, ... and fast processes. ... Slow ones, as the handling of taxes toward this end; such as income tax. ... Fast processes, such as nationalization, ... agrarian reform, industrial reform, etc.

II. We, ... in accordance with our plan to present general objectives, want to consider something fundamental for all of these reforms: interest on money, ... usury. ... This is the basis of all capitalism as it is known today. ... Let us consider then, ... the traditional doctrine on usury.

We can define usury in general as the interest received for the loan of something that functions. Since money enters this clas-

⁶Ibid., pp. 175-213.

sification, ... usury came to be applied almost exclusively to interest of rent on money that has been loaned out. In Latin it is called *foenus*. To loan on interest, *foenerare*, words that seem to come from the word *foetus*, ~~that~~ which is delivered, and from a lost verb that means to deliver. With this it means that to give money to be loaned for interest is as to have it deliver a child. Greeks called usury *tokom*, from *tikito*, which means to give birth, nurture. On the other hand, the Hebrews called it *morsus*, a bite, as though the usurer was biting his victim, or eating him little by little (or, a little at a time).

Usury is condemned both by philosophy and ethics in very strong language. Aristotles says that it is against nature, referring for sure to the social nature of man. Cicero asked Cato, *quid esse foenerari, respondit: hominem OCCIDERE*, that is, asking for the meaning of usury, the answer is to kill a man.

Usury is repeatedly condemned in Scripture, both in the Old and the New Testaments (Ex XXII: 25; Lv XXV: 36,37; Dt XXXIII: 23,19; Ez XVIII: 8,13,17; Psalms, very often, including when it was said that the Messiah would "free his people from usury and iniquity," *ex usuris et iniquitate redimet animas EORum*, Ps 72:14) ...

The Lord says in the Gospel: "*Mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes*:" loan without any interest (Lk VI:30). It must be understood that in Latin *mutuum* (mutual) is the word that we use as a loan. ...

The Fathers have strong words against usury. St. Ambrose says: "*Qui usuram accipit rapinam facit: vira non vivet*," "The usurer is a thief. He shall not live (eternal life in heaven)." And *Inopi substantiam corrodere* (he makes reference to the Hebrew term) *trudicare est* "To gnaw through usury the property of the poor is to kill him." St. Chrysostom, commenting on Dt (C. XXIII: 19), which says literally: "*Non foenere mordebis fratrem tuum*", adds: "*Similis est pecunia usurarii morsui aspidis*;" "usury is as viper's bite, acceptable at first by the recipient, but brings instant death."

St. Thomas ... and all of the scholastics consider it a serious sin, against the seventh commandment, stating that the usurer must restore what he gained through usury. We do not believe that any Catholic author had another concept until the Middle Ages. ...

The Church has officially condemned usury in its Councils so seriously that "it is unpleasant to even speak" of the punishment, as Fr. Huan de Montalbán, O.P. Bishop of Guadix states. ... These are 1. Denial of communion. ... 2. Denial of ecclesiastic burial. 3. Not accepting their offerings. ... 4. Not allowing them to make a will. 5. No public welfare. 6. No renting of a house to them. 7. No letter of citizenship. 8. They are declared infamous. ... 9. They are declared to be public thieves and must restore ... all that they have robbed.

In the Decretals the proposition that says that usury is not a

sin is condemned. Pope Inocense XI, today on the altars, condemns the following proposition (42): "It is not usury to ask for something based on something that is loaned, if it is asked for only as an expression of appreciation, and not as a debt of justice." ...

The Church came to present the basis and the spirit of the ancient legislation in two articles of the Canonical Code, 1, 543, where the doctrine is presented, and 2, 354 where the punishments are indicated. The first of these states: "If something consumable is delivered to someone, ... and later he must return an additional amount of the same kind, he cannot receive any gain because of the same contract ; but when something consumable is lent, it is not illicit to indicate the legal interest, as long as it is not excessive, ... if there is a legal title to it." ... It can be seen that unlimited interest is rejected ... as charged today by stockholders of industry. The Sacred Congregation of Propagane Fide, in instruction of 1873 declares that the title of Civil Law may be sufficient, perceiving the interest allowed by law. ...

The editors of the translation of this law of the *Biblioteca de; Autores Cristianos* add a footnote: "Considering present circumstances, it cannot be said anymore that money of itself is not productive." ...

Canon 2,354 says: "A layman that has been condemned of homicide, rape, ... sale of a slave, ... usury, robbery, ... must be excluded by Law from the legitimate ecclesiastical acts and from any position that he may have in the Church, having the obligation of restoring that which was lost." ...

Scholastics arrive at marvelous conclusions in the exposition of this doctrine. ... When they were told that Jews could charge usury to foreigners in the Old Testament, they answered that it was tolerated the same way divorce and prostitution with foreigners was tolerated (Dt 23:17), but never accepted. They affirmed that God Himself could not accept usury ... because He cannot accept things that are evil of themselves.

They had a similar answer concerning the civil laws that allowed usury, regulating it; they said that it could be compared to its permitting prostitution in order to avoid greater evils. ...

When it was said ... that time has been able to multiply the amount loaned, they answer that consumable things like money never multiply themselves. ... It cannot be stated that whoever asks for money paying interest accepts this interest voluntarily, for they are under obligation, just like the person that gives his wallet to the thief to save his life. ...

A strong argument ... has been made in our days in favor of usury. It is compared to a house that has been rented. ... However, ... this can burn down, or be destroyed, ... and it still belongs to the owner, ... not to the renter. However, a loan belongs to the per-

son that made the loan. ... Whoever rents a house, ... must pay the rent. Whoever receives money ... must return only that which was received. If he makes it work, the increase rightfully belongs to him, as well as the losses, ... having an obligation to return an equal amount that to which he received. ...

The person that receives a loan of money, makes it his own. ... If he incurs irreparable losses, ... these are against ... the person that makes the loan. ... This possibility ... certainly is a legitimate motive for some interest. Scholastics call this *periculum sortis*, a gain that comes to an end. ... Whoever loans can be damaged, ... not being able to buy whatever he needs to survive at the time of the harvest, ... this is called *damnum emergens*, a damage that comes as a result of a loan.

These are recognized as valid reasons to receive interest. ... Modern states assign these interests for loans. ... They punish the vulgar usurer ... but do not interfere with large institutions. If they do something, ... it is only to be included in the profits. ...

III. Two elements come into the enterprise: capital and labor. The second one is essential; the first one could not be essential. Capital is accumulated labor, and consumable. ... Labor is understood to be all human activity that makes an enterprise viable. ... Capital is the appropriation in money of the stockholder, who for all practical purposes does not participate in the enterprise at all. ... Why should he perceive unlimited interests from total productivity of the enterprise? An authentic scholastic would be shocked by this lack of limitation on the increase of interest. ... We are not concerned with the amount of such interests. This may differ, ... according to the risk and accounting for the gain ... or loss for contingencies. We only endeavor to indicate that interest must have its limits from the beginning. ... We endeavor to present general principles that may serve our actions and help us form a criteria for the solution of these problems.

Let us consider a practical situation. A man goes to the confessional ... stating that he has loaned money at 12%. The confessor indicates that this is wrong, forcing him to cut his interests in half. ... When he returns, he says: "I have been able to recover the money I loaned ... and I have invested in a shoe factory that returns 20%. What will the confessor say to this?" ... The difference is that the first time he dealt with his neighbor and this time he does with a corporation, in whose favor it seems to be lawful to steal. ...

We said that capital takes the place of a machine or tool of the enterprise. ... That machinery wears down, and some day must be traded for new machinery. ... When this happens, ... the original investment, represented by the stocks, should also be considered worn down. Machines do not reproduce themselves. ... If they represented capital, why does capital go on when the machines disappear?

It will be said that new machinery is bought ... with reserves. ... Capital received its interests, ... when it should have spent itself

... it is renewed indefinitely. Money, ... through capitalism, becomes indestructible. ... This insures eternal idleness to those that have it. ...

We must also make reference to the Moral Law of labor. The Natural Law applies to all, a reflection of the Eternal Law, of the Positive Law of the Old and New Testaments. God placed man in Paradise so he would labor and care for it (Gn 2:15). He later said "with the sweat of your forehead you shall eat your bread" (Gn 3:19). Jesus says in the Gospel that we must answer for even an idle word that comes from our mouth (Mt 12:36). There can be no stronger statement condemning idleness. ... Man should not stop his consideration, ... for the ideal in the Gospel is the perfection of the heavenly Father (Mt 5:48). Idleness is the sterilization of the God given faculties ... renouncing the conquest of the perfection to which God destined us. ...

Man has a perfect right before the Public power to overwork at times in order to rest later. ... During this period of rest the Moral Law may be fulfilled towards the function of his perfection. As stated by Bergson, this is an upward pull of public morality.

However, those that live exclusively out of accumulated work that never is spent, ... out of interest on a capital that renovates itself for ever, ... such a society, that fosters the survival of idleness, cannot be considered to be a society that is well organized. We speak of idle persons, not of leaders of industry, whose function is essential. To accomplish this, a complete reorganization of industry is needed. The neuralgic point ... is interest on money renewed indefinitely.

IV. Considering this, the ideal is to make industry to be cooperative enterprises. ... If this is not immediately possible, the least that can be done is to establish a set rate of interest in all kind of stock and enterprises. ... This would permit the fulfillment of the aims of Popes, according to which the contract of society is softer. If an enterprise is based on these principles, it would transform itself from economic to social unit such as the County or the family. ...

There is something fundamental that makes us equal; but there also is something greater that makes us different. When the State ... wants to consider us as equals, ... when it considers that everything belongs to it, and industry is meaningful only when forced to contribute ... a specific amount to each worker, society becomes disjointed. ... The unit of labor must be considered as a natural entity of Public Law ... whose personality must be strengthened by the state, never weakened or substituted. ...

Such a society ... would have a strength, stability and order that is not found in modern society. ... The laborer today does not appreciate what the factory gives him, since he knows that the State regulates everything. Tomorrow, with interest limited and guaranteed by the State or by law to a minimum that applies to personal rights, all that is received above this will depend on the good or bad fortunes of

the enterprise, with which ... he and all his family will be incorporated. ... This way, not all workers will receive the same salary, or subsidy, except for the basic pay. ... Some more, others less, according to their personal worth and the prosperity of the enterprise, which depends on all, for there are no unknown stockholders in the shadows.

When a factory ... is the result of all its workers, and only of those workers; when they see that it is up to them to see it prosper or fail; when their professional honesty has an influence on the economical achievement; when its credit helps them to acquire new capital for possible expansion; when whoever does not fulfill his duties may be fired by the enterprise itself, that is, by all of the laborers, properly organized, then factories will prosper, for all of the workers will feel that their prosperity depends on its prosperity. ...

Modern society is ... divided. ... Citizens are small units at the mercy of the State, which always grows bigger. ... Personal differences almost disappear completely before the State; and the fundamental equality among men ... becomes a total equality. ... He who does not produce must not be treated the same as the good worker; the honest person the same as the criminal; the laborer as the idle person. ...

Above everything, an enterprise organized in this manner will have a strong influence. We cannot say anything of its organization. This belongs to the experts. ... From a moral standpoint, we believe that the first thing that must be done is to suppress or limit the interest of money that is charged by stockholders; that unlimited interest on which modern capitalism is based, and on which its vice is founded.

VI. AGRARIAN REFORM

In this last sermon González applies some of these principles to the situation of the fields. The English abbreviated version of this sermon is as follows:⁷

The main points of attention to achieve a better distribution of wealth are ... industrial reform and agrarian reform. ... Today we shall consider the later one. ...

The relationship of the laborer with production is best seen in the land, compared to the proprietor, who often makes no effort to increment productivity. ... The land is also the first and fundamental means of support for humanity, upon which everything else depends. ... The first problem conquerors solve ... is the distribution of the land that was conquered. ...

⁷Ibid., pp. 217-250.

The most important distribution of land was made by God.. The Sacred Text (Nm 33:51-54) says: "When you have crossed the Hordan into Canaan, cast out all of its inhabitants. ... Posses and dwell in the land, for I give it unto you for that purpose. Distribute it by lot among the families. Those that have more people receive a greater inheritance, those that have less people, a similar one. Whatever belongs to each of you shall be his inheritance. You shall possess it according to your tribes."

Several things can be seen in this text: 1. The land belongs to God, He gives it out accordingl to His will and takes it the same way. 2. God gives it as a possession, not as property. ... 3. He distributes it by lot among the families. ... 4. Without former title of the property ... the land was distributed according to family needs. ...

According to this positive disposition of God, the land is to support all, according to each family's needs. ... If someone must sell it, his brother has the first choice. ... Whoever buys it is under obligation to accept as a laborer ... the person that sold it. ... Whoever has more land must feed more people. However, this must be done within the limitations of the tribe ... (Nm 36:7): "The inheritance of the children of Israel shall not pass from one tribe to another, for the children of Israel must be tied to the inheritance of the tribe of their fathers."

There is something even more significant, that is the instructions concerning the Year of Jubilee. "You shall count (Lv 25: 4,8,10, 13-46,23-28) seven weeks of years, ... forty-nine years ...; you shall sanctify the fiftieth year and proclaim liberty to all of the inhabitants of the land. ... Each one will recover his property. ... You shall buy from your neighbor according to the years that passed since the Year of Jubilee and according to the years of harvest he shall return to you. The more years that remain, the greater the price; the fewer years, the lower the price, for what is sold is the number of harvests. ... Land will not be sold indefinitely, for mine is the land and you are ... wanderers and strangers. In all of the land of our possession, you shall grant the right of redemption of the land. If your brother becomes poor, and sells part of his property, he who has the right to do so, his close relatives shall come and redeem what jis brother sold. If he does not have a redeemer, ... then he shall sybtract the years from the sale, and pay the difference to the buyer, returning to his property. If he does not have the funds with which to pay this balance, that which was sold will remain in the hands of the buyer until the Year of Jubilee, then it shall be free, and the seller shall return to his property." ...

Notice some of the most important ideas: 1. Once more it is indicated that the land belongs ... to God, who gives it to men according to their families to work it. ... The family institution seems to be the foundation of the distribution of the land. 2. This possession seems to be related to liberty, which is not enjoyed by the person that does not have anything; who becomes, not a slave, ... but a laborer ... of the one who has possessions. 3. If someone ... must sell, he does not sell the land, but the right to work it and to receive its fruits

for a given time. ... 4. Upon the arrival of the year of Jubilee ... all sales are cancelled. ... 5. Whoever purchases an inheritance ... must feed and support the seller ... and his family. ...

It seems as though this law was never applied. ... Any allusion to it in the Prophets seems to indicate an ideal and wider moral doctrine, whose principles remain: The land belongs to God (Ps 24:1) and is ordained for the substance of all.

Private property, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, was introduced later, for it is the best way for the land to produce more and to have peace and order among laborers. However, ... the owner must consider it to be his own for work and administration. Its fruits, ... are for the sustenance of all, receiving pay for his work from those that are benefited by it, except in extreme cases. This makes it against the law ... that a farmer destroy the wheat ... while someone needs it. ...

Let us remember what must be remembered from this Biblical principle, ... its spirit and doctrine. ...

II. Considering these principles, ... let us enter into the problem of Agrarian Reform as manifested today. Since this is a specific problem, it should be studied as such. The problem differs in each country, ... and sometimes in each providence. ... When the problem tries to be solved in a practical way, we shall refer not to Agrarian Reform in general, not even in Spain, but in Andalucía, and even more concretely in Córdoba. It should be noted ... that this problem exists only in southern Spain. ... In the north, the small farm becomes even inefficient. ... In the south, it practically does not exist. ...

Andalucía ... is surrounded by great mountains. ... It has lands that are not cultivated, and cannot be cultivated, divided in large plots, dedicated to sheep herding, coal mining, hunting, ... and sometimes logging. There are also ... great herds of swine. ...

Can these farms be reduced? No. In the mountains of Córdoba ... there is a colony ... Santa María de Trasierra. ... A Church was built, ... a settlement began. ... Today all is in ruins, with two dozen inhabitants, ... supported by big ranches; for the subdivision disappeared ... and the old and present ranches came to existence. The land can only exist like that, ... because of its lack of productivity. ...

Three persons talked about Agrarian Reform in a pub in Jaén. The most talkative said, "It cannot be allowed that the lords may have for their enjoyment and hunting great ranches." José Contreras heard this, and told them: "I will give you a ranch of eleven thousand hectares, ... with a hunting house, 'El Tamujar' ... on one condition, that you farm it and use it for anything but hunting and grazing, which is the way I use it." All three remained silent, not knowing what to say. "El Tamujar" remained as a big ranch in the hands of its former owner. I do not know if those reformers talked again on this subject, but we believe they did not, at least in public. It is always dangerous to talk about something we ignore. ...

The situation changes if these were farmlands. However, these are already farmed; for there are not many who can profit from a parcel and do not take the advantage. ...

Probably these fields could be put to better use ... as public mountains ... controlled by an efficient state; but we cannot enter these problems. ...

The woods ... cannot pass to the State or be parceled, for the great herds of swine ... must be fed in another way during the rest of the year, and even in times of drought, which cannot be done by the small farmer.

III. Let us consider the lands used for hunting. ... Consider the land and the climate. ... Andalucía's farmland is low around Cádiz and Sevilla, and mountainous in the highland, Córdoba, and even more so, Jaén. There is little rainfall. ... This makes the population to concentrate in the cities, with few small towns, like in the north. ...

The land surrounding the cities in Andalucía is called "Ruedo". It is not more than five kilometers from town. ... These are distributed in small plots. What lies beyond this is divided in great ranches.

A small plot ten, fifteen or more kilometers from home .. is of no value. It means a loss of two hours in the morning and another two in the evening. This is the reason for the small population in the fields of Andalucía. ... Because of this the big farms cannot be suppressed, unless there is irrigation. ...

Concerning olive groves, things are even worse. ... The olive tree is very irregular in its productivity. Three years can pass without any harvest. The last two years (1946,47) it was great. This will not be a bad year. However, this is not good for a small farmer. In poor years ... they fall into the hands of the usurer or sell out their properties. ... To all of the problems it could be added that an olive tree takes six to ten years to begin producing. What poor man can plant them, having to wait all of that time? ... Much of this can be said also of vineyards. ...

Should things remain as they are? No, but there is no simple solution to the agrarian problem of Andalucía. ...

The increase of irrigation is an efficient way to subdivide the land. ... All of us would like to see this, from the Pope to the poorest Spaniard. ...

Absenteeism must also be corrected. The revolution ... , the great farms of Andalucía must be considered as a factory organized the same way. ... It must have its landowner, like the foreman, leading it. ... The field laborer, like the factory worker, will have his wages, that which is needed to support his family, and a bonus according to the harvests. ... All would then be interested in the increase of production. ... The agronomist would then be interested in the in-

creased of production. ... The agronomist would be needed, but not sent to the State to give his orders from the capital of the province, but chosen freely by the farmer, ... as happens with a veterinarian. ...

The poor will always be with us (Mr 14:7), ... we strive that no will go hungry. ... There will always be rich, as they are every where, even in Russia. ... The important thing is that the rich, notice that all of us must work. ...

This way the land owner should receive only an interest similar to the person that loans money, or even less, since the money loses its value and land does not. Whoever is in charge of his own land should receive much more as wages of his own work. ... A farmer needs to love his work. ...

After indicating the convenience of private property, St. Thomas says concerning exterior things, that 'concerning the use, man must not consider exterior things as his own, but as common goods, in such a way that he will readily communicate with those in need' (IIa, II, 56, 2). ... The distribution of riches must be done according to common good. ... God gave the rich their riches to sanctify them distributing what is left after covering their own needs: ... He did not give it to them to accumulate them indefinitely, and much less to waste them in luxury and vice. ...

Someone may ask if this would solve ... the problem of Andalucía. We must answer that this is not the case, ... not even financially. ... We can summarize our ideas as follows: 1. Irrigation will contribute greatly to the solution of the problems of Andalucía. This way, it is almost automatic subdivide the land. 2. Large farms surrounding the cities must be subdivided immediately. ... 3. Large farms or ranches in dry lands must remain as they are. ... 4. To work them, they should be handled as an industry. ... 5. The state must offer its help, but not by force. ... 6. Finally, the state must see to it that the rights of all of the citizens be protected. ...

May God grant these ... reflections ... may bring at least some light to these problems ... and help those that have a greater understanding to find proper solutions.

APPENDIX H

THE SERMONS OF JOSE RUIZ MEDRANO

José Ruiz Medrano has been the theologian of the Cathedral of Guadalajara in Mexico.¹ At first, this may not seem to be very important. However, the Archbishop of Guadalajara was chosen to be a Cardinal before the Archbishop of Mexico. Ruiz' theological position and preaching must have been very significant and influential in this choice.

Mexico has a secular government that tries to be as atheistic as possible. This means that the government and the Church have been at odds with each other. At the same time, the Church has been more or less free to express itself. This can be noticed in these sermons.

I. LIBERTY, DIVINE ATTRIBUTE

This sermon was preached in the Cathedral of Guadalajara the sixth day of December of 1960. This date celebrated the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of emancipation of slaves in Mexico. This declaration was made by don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, priest and hero of the Mexican War of Independence.

This sermon was preached quite recently. Because of this, only the English translation will be presented below:²

The greatest gifts that God has given mankind are reason,

¹José Ruiz Medrano, *Una Voz de México* (México: Editorial Jus, 1962), p. 9.

²Ibid., pp. 105-123.

liberty and redemption. God placed man above everything else, crowning his mind with the light of Reason, a gleam of the light of the divine Mind. Through Reason man separates himself from material things and elevates himself to the universal and eternal. ... With the light of Reason, God granted him the irrepressible impulse towards the goods granted by reason. It is Will. ... But there is something, ... higher and greater, ... -Moral Order- ... Liberty.

Liberty! Participation in that attribute with which men have always named God: *Domínus est!* Who is God? God is Lord ... for He is infinitely free. ... Through liberty man has the lordship of all things in the Universe that are subject to him. He has self dominion of his choices and acts. ...

The great mystery of Liberty is found in his interior choices. Here he manifests his 'personality', exclusive, unique, authentic, uncommunicable. In his choices he puts into play that which is his own, his SELF; his 'independent' self from any other creature or from the creator. ... Scripture states that in his hands God placed water or fire, death or life (Deut. 30:15,19; Jer. 21:8): Let him choose!

Liberty! A two edged word in man's hands, ... with it he can triumph in life's struggle and conquer Heaven, or hurt himself and plunge to eternal death. ... However, notice that in the present order of things, the order of redeemed Humanity, the Destiny that man will conquer with his Liberty is a *divine* Destiny -here by grace, eventually by *glory*- to become a son of God, *deified!*

THE TWO LIBERTIES

Liberty has been rightly defined as exemption both of *interior need*, and of *exterior coercion*. This is the same as saying liberation from all interior and exterior slavery. ... Jesus tells us that the great chain is sin: *whoever sins, is a slave of his sin* (John 8:34). John affirms that sin has three chains to enslave mankind: Pride, Covetousness, and Lust (1 John 2: 16). To be bound by them is to have fallen into true slavery: That of the soul.

CHRIST FREED US

Christ came to free us from interior slavery. He attacked Pride, Covetousness, and Lust. ... "You have received, says the apostle, not the spirit of slavery, but the spirit of sonship; all of you are sons of God, and sons are not slaves." (Rom. 8:15, last part, John 15:15; 1 John 3:1-3).

Christ calls us to free ourselves from the slavery of mankind. Don't fear them: *Don't fear those that kill* (Matt. 10:28). Break the chains of fear, act with liberty. ... Christian slaves had more freedom than their pagan masters! ... Yes, Christ freed us, He gave us the spirit of sonship, the spirit of inner liberty. ...

EXTERIOR CHAINS

Freeing us from interior slavery, Christ ... freed us from its results. ... Breaking the chains of the soul requires the breaking of the chains of the body. The former ones were prepared by the Devil, the later Wickedness of men to mark other men. This was the work of Paganism, men without Christ: SLAVERY.

SLAVERY: THE CHILD OF PAGANISM

Men have always been prone to have dominion over others, but Paganism brought slavery to the level of social institution. ... God gave mankind the divine Gift of Liberty, but it seemed that in the hands of men everything depraves itself. ... The roots of slavery? The deepest ones enslave the soul: Pride, Covetousness, and Lust. ... The pretexts? War, piracy, captivity, birth from slaves, vengeance and punishment. Supporting all of these abominations is the perversion of the MIND, of THOUGHT.

Pagan Thought. Let us hear three of the greatest exponents of Pagan Philosophy: XENOPHON: *Slaves must be considered to be beasts*; divine PLATO: *the upright order of the republic demands slavery*; the great ARISTOTLE defines slavery thus: ... *Organon animatum separatum alterius existens*. "A living instrument born to the service of others". He explains: *Nature has created slavery; some are born masters, others slaves*. With out any shame he writes (Politics I, II, 13 ff.): *War is a natural way to chase beasts and men born to obey who refuse to subject themselves*.

Pagan law: A slave has no rights: he is a thing disposed of at will, destroyed and even prostituted. ...

The Facts. ... A few characteristics of Roman Slavery are sufficient. In the time of Christ there were ten times as many slaves as free men. Augustus tells us that he handed over for punishment or for the Circus 30,000 slaves. Some masters had 20,000. The Roman Empire, an Empire of slaves!

Even greater was their misery. Without any rights, only debasement, labor as beasts in the palaces of their masters, in the fields, in the subterranean night of the mines, the brand, the whip, the Circus remained for them ... Death! See what human iniquity did to the divine Gift of Liberty.

THE VOICE OF CHRIST

Christ appears in this scene; and His voice is heard everywhere: *Love your neighbour as yourself* (Mark 12:32). *All of you are sons of the same Father* (Matt. 5:45; Luke 6:35; Matt. 6:9). *You are sons, not slaves* (John 15:15). *Whatever you do to those that are humble, you do it unto me* (Matt. 25:40). *I give you a new precept: that you love one another as I have loved you* (John 13:34). To be slaves? To serve?

Only to God! ... Christ was the first one to introduce the theme that would later be plagiarized by the French Revolution: Equality, Liberty, Fraternity!

THE VOICE OF THE APOSTLES

Would Jesus' voice be accepted? Suffice it to consider St. Paul's letter to his friend Philemon. Onesimus, a slave of Philemon, had fled from his master's house after stealing. A fugitive, afraid of being branded on the forehead and whipped or killed, Onesimus seeks refuge with the apostle. Paul then writes a short letter that summarizes the thinking of the Church concerning slavery. Notice some sketches: *I have sent you Onesimus. I ask you, even though I could command you, to receive him, no more as a slave, but as a beloved brother...; receive him as you would receive me, as my soul, as a son ... I am sure that you will do more than I ask you to do (Phil. 12,13,16,21).*

As a friend ... Paul repeats that which he had preached so often: *there is no more Gentile, Jew or Greek; master or slave: all of you are one thing in Christ (Gt 3:28).*

THE VOICE OF THE CHURCH

This was the invariable teaching of the Church. ... It did not want to incite the slaves to rebellion, ... for it did not want to provoke a social cataclysm with reprisals upon the cause of Christ. ... It wanted to change the world through charity, not through fratricidal blood.

It sincerely exhorted to individual manumissions of slaves. Christians were the first to manumit slaves. We know that in the Third Century there was a collection box for the redemption of slaves. ... Passover and Pentecost were feasts of liberation: Hermes, an ancient Prefect, freed his 1250 slaves; Cromacius, 1400; St. Melania 8000.

The liberation of slaves was a doctrine of the Church Councils and of the Church Fathers. Notice ... these words of St. Gregory of Nyza: *You have enslaved him whom God made the owner of the land. How is it that you capture those He made free and reduce them to the condition of four legged animals and reptiles? Is there any difference between the slave and his master? ... How can a man be the owner of another man?*

Wisely, the Church waited ... Slavery began to disappear in Christian nations, and this, almost completely. The Church's position has always been the same: TO CONDEMN slavery. ...

REVIVAL OF SLAVERY

However, the enemy does not sleep. Paganism's spirit blew once more in the Fifteenth Century, and slavery revived. ... Who could

believe that after fourteen centuries of Christianity that freed Europe from slavery liberated Christians would revive an even worse kind of slavery!

THE BLACKS

They fell upon the blacks: ... The satanic pride of classifying them as an inferior race! (This discrimination even today has not been dispelled from the hearts of many Christians). In 1788 it was calculated that ten million black persons had been moved from Senegal alone. ... Black sweat amassed the fortune of more than one nation that despises them today! ... The United States, Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela and almost all of America has heard the panting of the children of Africa.

The Church arose against black slavery. Pius XII in 1462; Leo X requested the Spanish and Portuguese kings to forbid it; Urban II in 1639; Benedict XIV in 1741; Leo XIII participated in all of the anti-slavery efforts. France, who would believe it! Yet the "Convention" has the honor ... of having elevated to the rank of a law the gospel principle: "Do not do to others what you do not want done to yourselves" (Mt 7:12). Napoleon brought back black slavery. This persisted until 1848.

In 1841 there were 368,000 slaves in Cuba. They were not freed until 1880. Washington freed his slaves in the United States, but it was not until the end of the Nineteenth Century that Lincoln promulgated constitutional abolition. This was almost 80 years after the Liberation that we commemorate today.

THE INDIANS

The heroic and apostolic missionaries that taught us the faith came with the conquerors, ... but with them also came hordes of adventurers with an unquenchable covetousness. They found a propitious soil for their ambitions: a disintegrated people in perpetual warfare and with the most abject slavery. ... Indians who gave themselves up to slavery, ... parents who sold their children as slaves, and offered their daughters to prostitution. A people with no respect for human dignity or for life. ... At the same time, a submissive people, obedient and long suffering. ... This brought about a diabolic persecution against the Indians. They were considered to be "irrational" and unable to learn even the rudiments of Christianity; thus, they were born to be slaves. ...

Charles V, knowing these atrocities, prohibited that Indians from New Spain be sold as slaves in the Antilles. ... Mexico, far removed from the will of the kings, ... found profiteers persecuting Indians. ... Conqueror ... Niño de Guzmán, together with Salazar y Delgadillo are two cruel figures in the history of Mexico.

DEFENDERS OF LIBERTY

The voice ... of the Friars and Bishops faced these slave masters. ... Fray Bartolomé de las Casas used his strength and his life attacking the crimes of slavery. ... The first Bishop of Tlaxcala, Fray Julián Garcés, also spoke wisely. Fray Juan de Zumárraga, first Bishop of Mexico spoke paternally. All appealed to the Spanish court seeking a solution. ... Friars and Bishops went to Pope Paul III. The Pope spoke for the Church in the unforgettable Bull *Unigenitus*, the Bull of LIBERTY promulgated June 2, 1537.

THE VOICE OF PAUL III

"It must be confessed that whoever has human nature is capable of receiving the faith, for Christ said: Go and teach all nations (Mt 28:19). ... All are capable of His doctrine. ... The enemy of humanity, ... moved some of his satellites ... who dare say that the Indians ... must be reduced to our service as though they were beasts, ... and reduce them to slavery. ..."

"We ... DECLARE that Indians and other nations ... ARE NOT WITHOUT REASON or capable of being DEPRIVED OF THEIR LIBERTY, or of the dominion of their things and should not be reduced to SLAVERY. ..."

THE LAWS OF THE INDIES

Because of the pressure and requests from New Spain; the authorized voice of Fray Francisco de Vitoria, the great theologian; and above everything else, the Bull of Paul III, the Spanish Courts wrote and proclaimed the "Laws of the Indies." These establish that 1) from that moment on, Indians may not be enslaved; 2) slaves that have been acquired without a legal title must be freed; 3) there should be no new encomiendas; 4) mistreatment of Indians will not be tolerated. ...

Then came the Second Audiencia, having such great men of our country as Fuenleal, Bishop of Santo Domingo and Vasco de Quiroga ("Tata Vasco"). They were followed by two great Viceroys. Don Antonio de Mendoza and Don Luis de Velasco, called the "father of the Indians." The Laws of the Indies had been proclaimed in 1544. A little later they were received in Mexico. They were enforced slowly in spite of the complaints of the exploiters. ... Don Luis de Velasco, against all obstacles, proclaimed them in Mexico and he also enforced them as much as he could.

THE LIBERATION OF 1550

The Viceroy received a definitive Instruction in 1550 from Queen Mary, daughter of Charles V, in the absence of her father: free as many Indians as were still enslaved. This privilege was not extended to the Blacks. In 1553, 150,000 Indians were freed.

NINETEENTH CENTURY: UNDER THE SIGN OF "LIBERTY"

Mexico remained like this during its colonial days. The enslavement of Indians (not of Blacks) was legally abolished. However, some remnants of slavery remained under cover.

The Nineteenth Century came under the sign of LIBERTY. ... The French Revolution proclaimed the Christian message: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Mexico ... has grown up. With generosity, but without any preparation in 1810 it proclaims its Liberty. ...

THE VOICE OF HIDALGO

A voice emerges, the voice of a man that ... proclaims the total emancipation of slaves: of all slavery. In Valladolid, the 15th of October of 1810, under orders of Miguel Hidalgo, Gov. Anzorena had given a Decree of Abolition. Four days later, in Tlalpujahua, D. Ignacio Antonio Rayón repeats the decree. Hidalgo arrives in Guadalajara the 26th of November. ... Three days later he himself makes the proclamation, and on the 6th of December of that year he presents the Decree of Liberation in its complete form: *Article I: That all of the owners of slaves must free them within ten days under penalty of death.*

Father Hidalgo has the glory of having proclaimed here freedom from every form of slavery. He was the first one in America and in all of the world. ... There is something even greater: Hidalgo was the instrument that God used to complete the liberation in the world. His Decree was prepared by centuries of Christianity and of the Church. ...

THE HYMN OF THE CHURCH AND OF THE NATION

Because of this do not be surprised that in this sacred place we are commemorating the sesquicentennial of Liberation. My poor voice, the Church of Guadalajara, the Church of Mexico, the Church of all the world raises a hymn of admiration and thanksgiving to the priest that performed this great Christian deed. ...

God, who willed to grant us the ineffable gift of Liberty, ... free us ... from inner Slavery, from Pride, Covetousness and Lust! ... Free us from concentration camps, from forced labor! Free us from racial or communist despotism!

Jesus, hear our voice! ... Let us sing the liberty of citizens, the liberty of Christians, the liberty of brothers, sons of a common nation, of a common God, Our Father who art in heaven (Mt 6:9)!

We thank you, God, for the gift of Liberty that you gave us! Thank you, Christ, for the gift of Liberty that you returned to us! Make us worthy of being free!

II. THE GIANT AGAINST CHRIST

Taking the figure of David against Goliath, Medrano preached this sermon comparing David to the Church and Goliath to the Communist movement. This sermon is political, rather than social. However, some aspects of social problems are also covered in it. Because of this, only some of the most significant portions of this sermon will be translated.

Atheism, Materialism and Determinism. Medrano indicates that these are the three ingredients of communism that existed from antiquity. The only thing that communism did was to add socialism to them and to make them scientific, and thus respectable in modern society.³

The Place of Religion in this Scheme. Medrano indicates that the purpose of communism is to finish with those that have exploited society. This has been done directly by the rich, specially by those that own great tracts of land. The Church and the State have been their accomplices.

Marx presents the "only" solution: to finish with the exploiters and their accomplices. Who are they? The landowners, the industrialists, the bosses, of labor, production and capital gain. The accomplices? State and Church, institutions that have been created in order to strengthen and sustain capitalism. Religion, specially the Christian Religion, preaching patience and resignation, humility and obedience, the Kingdom of Heaven and future Justice, mesmerizes and stops in the people the irrepressible impetus for revenge and for the annihilation of the rich. Religion sanctifies bourgeois property and she herself makes herself an accomplice of exploitation. Actually, she herself is an exploiter.⁴

In the face of all this, communism offers the solution of the

³Ibid., pp. 149-156.

⁴Ibid., p. 158.

Kingdom of Earth. To achieve this end, a purgatory is necessary. This purgatory is the struggle that must be faced by the masses in the form of revolution, terror and violence. However, after all of this is said and done, the new kind of Messianic Era will dawn. Medrano indicates that it is logical that this doctrine was accepted in Russia, a country that has its own Messianic tradition and refers to itself as "Holy Russia." It is a people that has traditionally been enslaved and that is struggling for its own liberty who consider their mission to be the liberation of mankind.⁵

The Technique. In order to accomplish this end, communism has endeavored to unite the working class with the youth and the intellectual class.

To the ignorant masses of the people, workers and farmers, who have felt in their own flesh the misery and social injustice, Communism presents itself as the only real solution to their ills. It promises that there will be no more rich or poor, for everything will belong to everybody.⁶

The way in which communism appeals to the philosopher is by making a contrast between ancient philosophy and its effort to "interpret" reality and communism with its endeavor to "transform" and create reality. It reminds teachers that communism was born in the University. Atheism began with University professors (Feuerbach, Nietzsche, Hegel, Strauss, etc.) The same was true, according to Medrano's interpretation of communism, with materialism (Moleschott, Darwin, Vogth, Buchner, etc.)⁷

As far as the youth are concerned, their rebellious spirit as

⁵Ibid., pp. 159, 160.

⁶Ibid., p. 162.

⁷Ibid., 162, 163.

well as their admiration for power is exploited.⁸ It is interesting that the rebelliousness of youth submits to discipline and obedience to a strong leader who tries to create a new world.⁹

The Solution. The problem of communism will only be overcome by the followers of Christ. "There is someone that can overcome it and shall overcome it: *Christ through His Christians*."¹⁰ He also indicates that they have the same invincible arms that David had when he faced Goliath: the rock and the cross.¹¹

Dialectic of Christ. This argument is very interesting. It is also related to social problems, as can be noticed in the following quotation from this sermon:

When Christ had to die, the Jews gave Him the cross; when He had to be resurrected, death gave Him the grave and the world gave Him the soldiers, the rock and the seals. ...

In liberal times, when men became bourgeois, trusting on the certainty of their riches, and forgetful of the condition of the poor, and blind to social injustices, God permitted the emergence of the Leviathan of the Proletariat, as a threat and as a severe warning to Christians, that the Lord made the earth and its goods for the benefit of all of His children. Riches have a social, that is, a fraternal mission. The heart that is not free of its gold cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Today, when souls, societies and nations have "materialized" themselves, communism comes to open our eyes, to discover unto us how low materialism can go, all the way down to hatred, debasement and slavery.¹²

Appeal. Medrano makes a very moving conclusion to this sermon. He invites the youth to face the challenge of the hour:

Young people, we are hearing Goliath's challenge. Look for a

⁸Ibid., p. 164.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 165.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., pp. 166, 167.

Champion to face me! In Goliath's day, the Champion was a young man, David. ... This is the hour of David, it is your hour!

Go forth, then, from among the crowd of atheist and communists that surround you. Face the Giant with the arms of Christ: with faith in the Resurrected Christ and with the cross of your own sacrifice. Let us see who overcomes, Goliath or David. He, armed with all of the weapons of the Devil and of Death, or you, fighting in the name of God.

Jesus, two thousand years ago you defeated the greatest Giants that challenged you: the world, the Devil and death. ... Repeat today your feat, through your Christians, whose history is only a continuation of your own history, their life is a "Holy Week" of centuries. ... We know times of Goliath and times of David; times in which Giants rise and times in which they are defeated. We go from defeat to defeat, from victory to victory, from death to death, from resurrection to resurrection!

The challenge of your power answered the challenge of Goliath, Moloch or Minotaurus: ... I have overcome the world! Communism takes pride in its "dialectic," but in reality, you are the only one who knows the true dialectic, that which comes from God: to take the opposite out of everything. From error you take a sparkle of truth; from weakness, strength; from death, life. Only you have David's dialectic, to take the Giant's sword and kill him with it. Only you can bring great goods out of great evils. From communism shall come the light of your glory and the good of your Church.

Because of this, even in this hour, your Christians live with the assurance of an always renewed triumph until final victory, when you will put your enemies for your foot stool (1 Co 15:25). For this reason our song can only be the Hallelujay of Victory.¹³

¹³Ibid., pp. 167-169.

APPENDIX I

THE SERMONS OF HECTOR O. OGLIETTI

Hector O. Oglietti has been the Catholic spokesman on television in Argentina. Thirty-five of his sermons were published in 1966. Four of these are related to social problems, even though three of these are political rather than social. It is interesting to notice that some of his data is taken from Bishop Fulton Sheen.¹ Since these sermons were published in 1966, they must have been preached during the first half of that decade.

Argentina is mostly a country of Europeans and their descendants who speak Spanish. They have kept their original languages more than their cousins in North America. Even though there is poverty among some segments of the population as in any other country, it is not as marked as in most of the rest of Latin America. It cannot be stated that as a people they have been oppressed in the same way as Indians and Blacks have been oppressed in the United States and in the rest of Latin America. However, Argentina has had its own problems through the dictatorship of Perón and the aftermath of his government. Another continuing problem has been one of the greatest rates of inflation in the world.

I. COMMUNIST COMPANY INC.

This is the first of three sermons that deal with the problem

¹Héctor O. Oglietti, *El Evangelio Sobre los Tejados* (Buenos Aires: Producciones Argentinas de Televisión, 1966), p. 248.

of communism. Of the three, it is the one that is most concerned with social problems. Because of this it will be presented more fully. The English translation of an abbreviation of this sermon is as follows:²

A few months ago a big bus arrived in the small town of Caen in Normandy with a group of Russian tourists. The Soviet rewarded the labor of its "comrades." Among them was the famous writer Vsevolod Kravchenko, who wrote children's stories. ...

Around midnight a group of people surrounded the small hotel in which the Russian delegation was staying. What had happened? Kravchenko had committed suicide, throwing himself from the fourth story where he had his room. ... He left the following lines: "In this trip I have been able to discover the true sense of the word 'liberty.' I cannot be a communist any longer, I cannot commit treason against my country any more. Death is the only way that remains." ... This is the liberty of a communist in the paradise of the proletariat. ...

One day, communism came (to the West) and told the workers: "You have been unjustly exploited by the capitalists; now you will have everything. The land will be yours, as well as the factories, the stores, the banks, the means of transportation, industry, ..."

However, communism kept this to itself: "All of this will be yours if you bow down and worship me." The very same words that Satan pronounced in the desert at the beginning of the public ministry of Jesus: "The devil went up to a very high mountain and showing Him all of the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof, told Him: *I will give you all of these things if bowing before me you worship me.* But Jesus answered: *Depart from me, Satan for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God and only serve Him*" (Mt 4:8-10).

Communism found the people hungry. It gave them bread, but it forgot something very important. The Gospel tells us: "Remember that man will not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from God" (Mt 4:4). Let us go to the paradise of the proletariat, ... What has happened to the oppressed? ... They have a new master. Before it was the boss, ... now it is the bureaucrats and the technocrats of communism. It is true that they are not the "owners," but as they themselves say, they are the "administrators." ...

Russia has a little over 200 million inhabitants. ... Only three percent can belong to the Communist Party. ... Among these, there is a privileged elite, between two and four percent. ... This means that 200 million Russians are in the hands of these 180,000 "effective" members, the leaders of the Soviets, of the Central or Regional Committees. ...

²Ibid., pp. 23-29.

Supposing that our country was communist. Argentina has exactly one tenth of the population of Russia: 20,000,000. ... The privileged class, three percent, the leaders, would be 18,000. ...

Let us consider another aspect. There are more or less four million families. A little over 10% have businesses or own ranches. This represents 500,000 homes with private property. One may ask: Where is social justice?

However, injustice is much less than that in Communist Russia since they have 180,000 "administrators" for 200,000,000 inhabitants. That is what they call "*Popular Democracy*"- In reality it is ... nothing else than COMMUNIST COMPANY INC., the only exploiter of the country. ... Communism is an excess, just like burgeoise capitalism. ...

Communism has tried to bring an end to social classes, eliminating inequities. ... In Russia there are six social classes:

1) The first one is that of those that have been reduced to an animal state in forced "voluntary labor camps": ... It represents three to six percent. Reduced to slavery, ... condemned to die of hunger.

2) The second social group represents fifty-three to fifty-six percent of the population. Some are workers, others farmers. ... Their wages are much lower than those of our laborers. ... They cannot protest in Russia. They do this in the West, because there still exists liberty for them to protest. They demand better living conditions and wages than those that Russia can provide to its people after forty-five years of communism. ...

3) The third class, twenty-six percent, are administrative functionaries and technicians. They are one of the privileged Classes.

4) The fourth social class is formed by the military and the police. They enjoy a privileged regime of life, similar to the former class. ...

5) The fifth social group, 6.4%, are the technocrats, that is, physicians, engineers, scientists, who earn ... between six and thirty four times more than the previous classes. What could be said concerning the working class!

6) The sixth class represents 3.2% of the population. These are those 180,000 mentioned above: Secretaries, leaders, administrators and capitalists of regional and central committees. ... They live in luxury and enjoy privileges unknown by the rich in the West.

The last three of these Classes live appart from the rest of the population. They enjoy restaurants, clubs, boites, recreational facilities unknown to the rest. ... What has communism achieved in forty-five years? ... Has it brought social injustice to an end? Are there no more classes? While the population dies of hunger,

they manufacture arms. Millions live enslaved and communism still dyes its flag with the redness of human blood. ... Capitalism also stains its flag with innocent blood. Our protest is addressed against this also. To speak against communism does not mean to defend the injustice of capitalism. Communists believe that they love the poor because they hate the rich. We don't hate any one. We only try to give a fair solution to the social problem. The Pope tells us that we cannot wash our hands like Pilate.

"When we see indigence on one hand and on the other side persons that please themselves without limit and spend great amounts worthlessly, we can only painfully recognize that not only is there no justice, but brotherly charity has not been understood. Besides this, such pleasures have a double effect: in those in those that enjoy them it weakens resistance; in those that see them, the poor, it increases indignation and multiplies violence". So said Pius XI ...

Communism does not consider the individual as a person, but as a tool. How does it differ from capitalism? ... What has originated inhuman capital? Human selfishness. It is not struggling against a class, taking from him who has, that we will solve the problem. Envy and ambition do not belong to a social class. They belong to all.

Should all the rich die, the poor will begin to experience ambition and envy. Communism must create a "new man" and this is not possible. In Russia there also exists the struggle for power and glory. Under the Snow of Siberia lie the bodies of those that have had to disappear in order to permit those that are on top to be there, in the "privileged class". ...

Dear friends: mankind considered that God was a dictator. In order to leave his "easy yoke" it fell into the hands of man. The dividing line between Christians and Communists is not economics, but religious. ... You try to make us believe that you are for the poor and we are for the rich. ... However, allow me to tell you with all sottow that you communists do not love the poor nor the rich. You do not love anybody. You are fighting against God, and you must not forget that we are with God and that we have the words of Jesus: "I will be with you always, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. 28:20).

Because of this, as long as there is faith in the world, there will be men capable of defending liberty and struggling for the veneration of human rights. You communists will end being destroyed because anything that is not love will have to come to an end for all eternity.

As indicated above, the following sermons are not concerned primarily with social issues.

II. ANOTHER TWO SERMONS AGAINST COMMUNISM

The Theology of Russian Communism. This sermon has a few social ideas related to Christianity. Among them, the fact that communism is a sort of religious agitation. In it the purpose of redeeming the world from evil is seen. The objective is to bring a kingdom of justice. The proletariat has a universal redemptive objective.³

The Russian farmers were very religious. One of their convictions has been inherited by communism. They believed that the land belongs to God, just like the air, light and the sea. Thus it could not be private property.⁴ However, has not having it as private property improved the lot of the peasant?

Oglietti also indicates that Russia venerated its old saints in its icons. Modern icons have been raised to Lenin and at one time were also raised to Stalin.⁵ It cannot be denied that there is an almost cultic generation of their graves. This approaches the veneration of the dead.

The Revolution of the Sons of God. As noted above, this is the sermon in which Oglietti admits that "many ... biographical data ... are taken from a lecture of Mons. Fulton Sheen."⁶ This means that this lecture or sermon could be considered more of a translation than an original sermon. At the same time, it deals more with the political problem of anti-communism than with the social problem that communism and Christianity try to solve. Because of this, only a few concepts

³*Ibid.*, pp. 115, 116.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 248

will be considered that are taken from this sermon.⁷

Oglietti indicates that communism is a union of men without God. Not only this, but it is an organization set up to persecute religion. It does not permit religion to do propaganda while atheism is taught in all of the schools starting with the first grade. In spite of this, young people in Russia are flocking to the churches. This is partially because of their need of spiritual and emotional stability. Once they go to the churches, Oglietti indicates that they are impressed by the fact that the priests speak without notes. This indicates to them the sincerity of the priests in believing that which they are preaching and their knowledge of the gospel.

The closest that Oglietti comes to facing social problems in this sermon is when he indicates that Russia instead of eliminating capitalism has had the government becoming ultracapitalistic. Yet, the people do not give the government their souls as indicated above, and attend church inspite of constant efforts to suppress religion. Oglietti compares the Russian people in this to the Russian woman who falls in love but tells her husband that he can have her body, but not her soul (doucha).

This makes one of the characteristics of Oglietti's preaching stand out. This is his knowledge not only of statistical facts concerning Russia that can be discovered from reading books, but also his knowledge of Russian folklore.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-248.

III. HUNGER: THE EMBARRASSMENT OF THE CENTURY

This sermon faces directly one of the more serious problems of the century. Because of this it will be presented more completely not only than the previous two, but even more than the first one. The English translation of this sermon is as follows:⁸

While modern man, with a dazzling civilization such as ours, prides himself of the advances of science and technical knowhow, millions and millions of human beings are living in the greatest misery and in conditions worthy of beasts. ...

The problem of hunger is not today's problem. Hunger has been the faithful companion of mankind since the creation of the world. Let us consider history briefly: ...

A few centuries before Abraham, an Egyptian Pharaoh wanted to inscribe in granite, as a sign of alarm for the future, his cry of despair. A tomb near the first cataract of the Nile has the following message:

I cry this disgrace from the heights of my throne. During seven consecutive years, while I governed Egypt, the Nile has not overflowed. Wheat is scarce and there is not enough food. Men, transformed into thieves, steal all they can. People want to run and they can't even walk. Children cry. Young people stagger like old people. Their legs can't support them. Their will is broken. The Council of the Great is deserted. The food bins have been plundered. They only have air. All has come to an end.

As we can see, hunger is an old enemy of mankind. In Genesis, Exodus, the Book of Kings, she conquers. Joel laments the desolation and misery that followed the locusts:

You may lament as a virgin that covers herself with her mantle, to cry for the husband of her youth. ... The field has been destroyed and there is no new wine because of the drought. ... The seed has dried on the lumps. The bins are empty and the silos ruined. How the cattle cry. ... To you Lord, I cry! (Joel 1. verses 8, 10, 17, 19).

Hesoid, a Greek poet of the Eight Century B.C., calls it the "daughter of the night". In despair, the year 440 B.C., the plebs

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 245-256.

threw themselves en mass into the Tiber.

Hunger also dominates the Middle Ages. Atila and his army must flow to the South because of hunger. ... Hunger pursues its triumphal march during the Hundred Years War and at times ... it holds its grip upon all of Europe. Even dirt is eaten, mixed with some flour and baked like bread. ... In 1190, during the seige of San Juan de Acre, lima beans are sold one by one. ... In the Sixteenth Century, France faces 13 crises, the following century, Fenelon writes to the king: "All France is nothing else than a desolate hospital without any provisions".

Hunger is considered to be one of the reasons for the French Revolution. Taine, philosopher, historian and French critic followed its footsteps and measured its harm during the second half of the Eighteenth Century. He states, "The Bishop of Chartres proved that men ate pasture like sheep and died like flies".

Whatever the case may be, the loss of lives because of hunger are much greater than those caused by wars and plagues together.

Western Europe gives hunger its first mortal wound during the first part of the Nineteenth Century, the century of hope. Mechanization takes agriculture away from its merovingian lethargy. ... Still, it strikes a last time. In 1847 it kills one million men in Ireland, and forces another million to leave the country. ... During that same century one hundred million Chinese die of hunger. Their greeting was not "Good morning", but much more direct, "Have you eaten today?". Five million persons die in India in 1876. In the last years of the century hunger causes more than twenty million deaths. Russia goes through forty long critical years. The newspaper "Russkie Viedomsti" published the following in 1891:

Hungry people beg from house to house from morning to evening and they return to their own empty handed because nobody gives them anything.

Ilin indicates that merchants, "taking advantage of hunger, bought everything very cheaply. ... Women sold their hair: two braids cost two rubles". The "mujics" survived this hecatomb by hibernating. Farmers slept most of the winter in a "lioschka" sleep. ... They barely moved, raising only to warm their "isba", typical wooden frame house of Russian farmers.

However, hunger has not disappeared in our dazzling Twentieth Century. ... Between 1940 and 1945 ... all of Europe was under its yoke. ... Belgians walked in the streets with their faces and bellies swollen by the edemas of hunger. In the Low Countries, during the terrible winter of 1944-45, so many people died that there was not enough lumber to make them caskets.

It is unbelievable how far a person with hunger will go in his effort to survive. ... Nothing stops him, not even cannibalism. ... He will also eat the bark of trees, more precisely, bread made from the bark of pine, beech, poplar and elm, which is not without its dangers. ... Another resource is cut straw. In 1813, in Sweden, people ate the straw of their mattresses. ...

Will we be defeated once more by hunger in the Twentieth Century? ... Can our planet feed such a large population? Certainly. Many technicians like Malthus in the last century considered massive limitation of births. This is untrue, not only because of morality, but also because of statistics.

In "Mater et Magistra", H.H. John XXIII says: "... goods are excessively produced in many countries. Others, overpopulated, struggle against poverty and hunger. Justice and humanity requires the former ones to help the latter ones."

The Pope is also talking about some countries that because of economic reasons throw their harvests to the oceans in order to keep prices up. He adds: "The solidarity that joins all men in one family requires those countries that have more than they need the duty of not remaining indifferent in the presence of countries whose populations struggle with the difficulties of poverty and hunger."

True charity ... does not consist only in providing poor countries with bread, but in giving them as the means through which they can struggle against hunger and poverty. ... Statistics prove that where there is lack of bread there is a hunger to know about God. The solution must include everything in order to be true. ...

Since 1943 the United Nations has an organization to fight hunger: the F.A.O. ... According to the last two world census, 60% of humanity suffers because of hunger. One of every three men dies because of improper nutrition. Seven out of every ten deaths are the result of hunger. Infant mortality in our own country surpasses 10%. ... It is a shame that after so much progress, 1,700 million of our brothers die of hunger. We cannot remain indifferent. Three basic points must be immediately considered:

JUSTICE: An increase and improved distribution of world resources.

CHARITY: Aid; technical assistance; international funds must be sent.

EDUCATION: Give them the means to solve their own problems; awaken Christian conscience; teach them a better administration.

Add to this the possibility of migrations from overpopulated zones. ... There are many lands that are not under cultivation. ... Poverty does not always come because of a poor soil. The Belgian Congo, China and Brazil still have many natural riches. If their inhabitants

are poor it is because of indolence and lack of a spirit of enterprise. On the other side, there are many overdeveloped countries like the United States where the amount of soil under cultivation has been reduced and used for cities, parks and even forests. This can also happen in other countries. The land could produce ten times as much as now. ... Only one eighth of arable land is being exploited. In Ethiopia alone there are more than 72 million hectares of fertile land untilled. ... Less than one hundredth of world food is taken out of the ocean.

New resources are being tapped to feed humanity. The Swedes, Americans and Japanese have discovered several synthetic foods that are very nourishing and easy to produce. ...

Europe needs hands. ... France has had to bring in Italians, Spaniards and North Africans. West Germany, who received more than twelve million refugees after World War II, has had to use more than 400,000 foreigners. ...

Economists say that as far as food is concerned, the world is far from being overpopulated. Man's problem is moral, more than anything else. "All of us ... are responsible for those that do not have enough to eat. ... Because of this conscience must be educated in the sense of responsibility that falls on all of us, especially those that have more." These are the words of H.H. John XXIII in the Encyclic "Mater et Magistra".

The World Organization of Catholic Women, with 36 million members, together with the F.A.O., accepted the challenge and organized a campaign against hunger. ... They met in Rome with Dr. Sen, head of F.A.O. and planned the worldwide campaign. The Director General of F.A.O. said July 1, 1960: "The hunger and poverty of one man are the hunger and poverty of all men".

In August of 1962, Buenos Aires, our city, in being chosen as the seat of the Regional Meeting of the UMOFC and ... of organizing in our country the "Campaign against world hunger". ... As Catholics we cannot be Absent without denying Christ's command: "Love one another as I have loved you" (John 13:34). ...

We cannot complain. We still do not know what it is to be hungry. An ancient Chinese proverb says: "I complained because I did not have any shoes. I looked up and saw someone without feet". We can and we must help each other. ... If we are liberal, some day we will hear Christ say:

Come you, blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the creation of the earth; for I was hungry and you fed me; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink ..." (Matt. 25:34,35).

Whatever we do for them, for those that hunger and thirst in this world, we do for Him.

APPENDIX J

THE SERMONS OF VIRGILIO PAMIO

As with Héctor O. Oglietti, this chapter also deals with an Argentinian preacher. However, Pamio is not as well known as Oglietti. His sermons follow the liturgical calendar for one year. Many of them have much significance for the study of the problems of the poor and needy. Those in which most of the sermon deals with this problem will be considered in this chapter.

Montesinos also used the liturgical calendar as a springboard for his own preaching on social issues. This indicates a possibility for our times.

I. SERMON FOR THE SECOND SUNDAY OF ADVENT

This is the only title that Pamio gives to this sermon. It is based on Matt. 11:2-10. As noticed below, he practically enters into the text of his sermon without any introduction. The English abbreviation of this sermon is as follows:¹

The Poverty of the Messiah and His Forerunner

The Gospel of this Second Sunday of Advent has two parts: the description of the embassy of the disciples of John the Baptist and Christ's praise of him.

John and his disciples expected a powerful Messiah: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire; the pitchfork is in his hand, he will cleanse his threshing floor, gather the wheat in the barn and burn the straw with unquenchable fire" (Mt III, 11-12).

¹Virgilio Pamio, *El Plan de la Salvación en la Meditación de los Evangelios Dominicales* (Buenos Aires: Guadalupe, 1968), pp. 27-33.

They are a little scandalized by the kindness and tenderness of Jesus. From prison ... John sends messengers to ask Jesus: "Are you the one that is to come, or must we wait for another?" Jesus sets them at ease by justifying His actions from other prophecies ... and pointing to the works of His Messiahship: "Go and tell John what you have seen and heard: 'The Blind see, the lame walk ... the dead are risen and the Good News are announced to the poor'." ... Jesus points to the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy that He read in Nazareth's synagogue: "The Holy Spirit is upon me, for he anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor: he sent me to preach liberty to the captives, sight to the blind; to free the oppressed, to announce a year of grace of the Lord. Then, rolling the book he sat down and said: This scripture is fulfilled before you today" (Lk IV, 18-22).

He is Christ, the Anointed One. His mission induces Him to heal the sick. ... It induces Him also to preach to the poor and to tell them that the Kingdom is at hand. ... Jesus presents Himself in this message of the nearness of the Kingdom as the Messiah of the poor. Behold the revelation of the scandal, ... Isn't this the son of Joseph? Isn't his mother Mary?" ... The opposition begins in Nazareth because the message of the Kingdom comes from human lips, "the son of Joseph" the carpenter. He is cast out of the synagogue to the top of the mountain to be cast into the abyss (Lk IV, 22-30).

Because of this danger of scandal Jesus adds to John's messengers: "Happy are those for whom I will not be cause for scandal .

The promised Messiah came, but with a purpose completely different from that wanted by the Jewish mobs. His kingdom is not of this world". ... Worldly goods are worthless for the establishment of His kingdom. The same is true of political power, personal influence and glory. ... "I have come to seek and save that which was lost" (Lk XIX, 10). ...

Messianic service is service for the love of the kingdom of heaven. The Son of Man has not come to be served, but to serve and give his life in ransom for many" (Mt XX, 28). He opposed the service of riches to the service of the kingdom (Mt 6; 25); he made poverty to be one of the most important conditions for entering the Kingdom of heaven and He proclaimed the happiness of the poor (Lk VI, 20). He loved the poor preferentially and declared that He had been sent to "evangelize the poor" (Lk IV, 18)). He demonstrated that one of the Messianic signs had been fulfilled by this (Mt XI, 4-5). ...

Christ is pleased in emphasizing poverty, humility and austerity. John witnessed in these to the Messiah of the poor. ... The Forerunner of the Messiah of the poor was also poor. In the person of Christ and His Forerunner the Kingdom is manifested in poverty and service.

A Poor Church

A poor Church must correspond to a poor Messiah. ... Poverty is the Messianic sign of the Incarnation and of the Kingdom. It must also be the sign of the Church, the way in which it reproduces the image of Christ.

The Church cannot properly fulfill its function as sign ... if it appears "rich in the eyes of the world". It is true "" that while the Church "" is poor, it seems to be rich and lordly. It still has an appearance of being rich, ostentatious, upper class. ... It inherits this from the past, when little thought was given to Christ's poverty. ... It cannot be denied that the poor are scandalized outside of the Church. This is ... the scandal of the Twentieth Century. There even are those who call the workers the "other separated brethren". If the poor do not return to the fold of the Church, and the Church does not put forth an effort to evangelize them, it will not be enough that the Church be poor, it must appear to be poor. ...

"The Church must present itself as the Church of all, but especially as the Church of the poor" (John XXIII). It must not only love preferentially the poor, because as Our Lord taught, "" they are first in the Kingdom of God, ... but it must exalt poverty in word and deed. Jesus reminded us that the spirit of poverty carries with it a tendency to become incarnated in material poverty. ...

Those within Christianity who still believe there is a direct correspondence between the extension of the Church and human power and riches risk confusing the propagation of the faith with the development of material works and organizations.

Since Pope John XXIII said: "We must shake off the imperial dust that, since the time of Constantine, has gathered upon the throne of St. Peter", a real effort has been taking place to give the Church an appearance of poverty and to find a new style of its presence among men. ...

"The spirit of poverty and charity is the glory and the testimony of the Church of Christ" (CIM, No. 88). These words ... help us to understand the affinity that exists between poverty and the efficiency of witnessing between poverty and charity. .

Poverty helps us to await everything from God and to recognize Him as Father. This helps us to feel human brotherly love. ... As we get rid of things, our heart becomes free, and in freedom it opens up more to God and men. This way, the spirit of poverty becomes a ferment of inner renovation and a jumping board for services in professional life, in family life and in temporal obligations. ...

The characteristics that define the evangelical style of the Church's presence in the world are indicated in the Gospel and in Acts of the Apostles. They can be summarized in these three expressions

of spiritual density: community, service, witness. ... The Magnificat is the eternal song of the poor: "The Almighty has filled the poor with riches, and has left the rich empty handed" (Lk I, 51-52). ... The first Christian communities of Jerusalem had a "soul of the poor": "The believers lived united, having everything in common. They sold their possessions and distributed them among all, according to the need of each one" (Acts II, 44-45). Because they had the soul of the Poor, they were also communities of love: "one heart and one soul" (Acts IV, 32-35). Love was the basis of Christianity and gave life to all of the institutions of the Church. The freedom of apostolic service corresponded to the spirit of poverty. ...

Now Vatican II wants to restore the Church its glory of purity and simplicity. It wants to accelerate the process of "deconstantinization", that it may rid itself of anything that in the eyes of the world will not allow it to be poor like Jesus. ... In order to have a missionary Church it is necessary that each Christian may live the life of Christ and have a poor soul like His soul. This refers not only to economic poverty, but above everything else to spiritual poverty ... in order to be Chinese with the Chinese, African with the Africans, Japanese with the Japanese. A Church in which all races, cultures and social classes may feel at home and loved.

From an effective poverty there will come a more hospitable humility to the sufferings of the world and more generosity for the service of the poor. Concerned with the poverty of the working class and of the underdeveloped countries, the Church will appear as the Church of service, at the service of mankind. ... Following the example of Christ who "did not come to be served but to serve", the Church ~~must~~ be willing to serve all. In this service is its greatness. ...

In order to present to the world of suffering and good will this appearance of poverty, simplicity and service, ... the whole Church must adapt its religious poverty to its witnessing and saving. ...

If both clergy and laity from the Church, and the Church is a community of love and service in poverty, all of us must have this desire to live with a personal spirit of poverty and service, in order to make a hospitable Church to the service of mankind and to recognize in it the face of Christ.

That which characterizes a person as a Christian is not the mere exaltation of poverty by preaching it publicly "Blessed are the poor" but evangelization through aid and personal service.

Catholics should not say "the Church (the Pope, Bishops and Priests) must be poor". Let them say "we must be poor serving the poor". This is the clear reply that the whole Church can give to the world today: "the gospel is preached unto the poor". A Church that preaches to the poor will be much less of the world and much ~~more~~ for the world. It will be less worldly and freer for the service of the world.

II. SERMON FOR THE SIXTH SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST

This sermon is based on the feeding of the multitude by Jesus, particularly on the second feeding recorded in Mark 8:1-9. It is also based on the parable of the "Rich Man and Lazarus." From these two incidents in the gospels Pamio addresses the problem of hunger in the world. The English abstract of this sermon is as follows:²

The multiplication of the loaves of bread like the miracle of the fish is repeated twice. John (VI,1-15) narrates the first one ... on the hill of Bathia near Capernaum; Mark (VIII,1-9) the second one ... in a desert near the Lake of Galilee.

The first time five loaves were distributed among five thousand (men) and seven baskets were left; the second time seven loaves were distributed among four thousand (men) and seven baskets were gathered from what was left over. ... The less man offers God, it seems that His power is exalted the more. God loves humble ... means, that man may not boast of the glory that belongs to God.

It is interesting to notice that the first miracle, destined for the Jews, ... the second one, for the pagans, were performed in consideration of the material conditions of the crowd "that followed Him three days and had nothing to eat."

Both times ... Jesus presented the problem of hunger to His apostles, and these sought a solution in harmony with the principles of economics and statistics: "A table for four thousand persons cannot be improvised in a desert. ... Two hundred denarii would not suffice for each one to have a little." ... These answers of the disciples did not present a human dimension and solution to the problem of hunger. They did not include concern and charity. ... The problem did not include a human solution because there is no bread ... in the desert to satisfy empty stomachs. ... Jesus says: "The place is desert and there is no bread that can satisfy humanity. Your fathers ate manna in the desert and died. I am the living bread that has descended from heaven; the bread that gives life to the world." Jesus ... orders the people to sit on the ground, takes the seven loaves and gives them to the disciples, that they may serve them. While they do so, the loaves multiply and "all ate until they were satisfied." This is outstanding and beautiful. The miracle reminds us of the words of the Psalm "All creatures wait for you to feed them in due season. When you do it, they take it. You open your hand and they are satisfied" (103,27-28).

²Ibid., pp. 335-346.

Mark has kept a phrase in today's Gospel that reveals the heart of Christ: ... "I have compassion on the multitude, because they have been with me three days and they have no food. I do not want to send them back empty, for they may faint along the way." ... Today, as never in history, human conscience has discovered the "popular masses" and the peoples "of the third world" with the horrendous force of their trampled rights, their secular sufferings, their physical and spiritual hunger that has never been satisfied.

Christ felt compassion for that multitude of four thousand persons as He does today for three billion. ... He has not transmitted to the Church the power of multiplying the loaves, but He has transmitted the feeling of compassion and the command to defend the rights of the poor. He has taught it to fight and solve the human problems of misery and hunger with spiritual and moral principles. ...

Because of this the Church considers that mankind does not have any merely material problem. It considers the "problem of bread" to be a spiritual problem of love and justice. ... This has been revealed to the conscience of the world in the great social Encyclicals from "Rerum Novarum" to "Populorum Progressio."

How then can the "great scandal of our times" be explained, that is, the withdrawal of the workers from the Church? How can the rupture of the covenant of friendship that joined the masses with Christ, the "poor with the Poor," the "workers with the Worker" the Crucified Redeemer with those trapped in the whirlwind of modern production be explained?

The Rich Man and Poor Lazarus

Bread is scarce today on the tables of mankind. ... Since the end of World War II the problem of hunger is referred to as the most tragic problem of our time and the greatest threat to peace in the world. ...

The multitude ... that followed Jesus to the desert has now become "legion." The seriousness of the situation has been presented in the statistics of the FAO published in 1964. ... It is surprising to know that the populations of Asia, Africa and Latin America suffer quantitative hunger, that is, they do not have enough calories. Sixty per cent of mankind is under the absolute minimum of 2,250 calories per diem. Worldwide calculations indicate that the population of Pakistan have 1,980 calories per day, that of India of 2,000, while the British and North Americans have access to 3,270, the Dutch to 3,020 and the New Zealanders to 3,510 daily.

To this hunger may be added the hunger for vitamins, iron, iodine, etc. The results ... are illness, lack of capacity to work, premature senility and early death. The poorest countries are in the hellish vicious circle of misery and illness, for "those that produce

a little are poor, and they do not produce much because they are poor. They always become poorer because they are sick! At the same time, greater poverty begets more illness." ...

Why is there hunger among 60% of the human family in an earth that has enough resources provided by God? Since the Industrial Revolution two systems have tried to solve the economic and social problems of the world.

The first one is known as "Economic Liberalism" or Capitalism. ... Each individual must raise himself, his destiny and his happiness. Its defect was discovered very soon: The unchaining of individualism turned into the exasperation of selfishness and merciless exploitation of the defeated in daily competition with the working classes on the part of the capitalist. ...

A reactionary movement, antithetical to individualism was then presented to humanity: Collectivism. "Workers of the world, unite." They began to unite ... as an expression of bitterness, with a volcano of hatred in the heart, to throw themselves as enraged masses against the existing structures. ...

Liberalism tried to salvage liberty, and committed the greatest injustices. Collectivism sought justice and destroyed liberty. Both systems are destined to failure, but the consequences are bitter. ...

It would be intellectual nearsightedness to explain "hunger" ... only as the fruit of the injustices of Liberalism, the abuses of Colonialism and Marxism. We, the Christians of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries share the blame. We were slow, minimizing the judgements of the Gospel on riches. ... Many Christians ... accepted the spirit of the world. The prudent thought it wise to move slowly, while the situation demanded new social structures based on Christ's charity, which was only an ointment on the open wounds of injustice; the more daring showed a disloyalty against the spirit and the letter of the Gospel, pretending to make it a manual of devotion rather than a code of love. ...

It is an unpleasant fact that the Western "Christian" World has lived and still is living the gospel parable of the "Rich Man and Poor Lazarus." ...

Father Lebret, in his book "Dimensions of Charity" writes: "Considering the average of humanity, 18% uses more than two thirds of world production, while two thirds use 15%." In the book "Le Drame du Siecle," of the same author, we read: "The United States alone, with 6% of the population of the world, consumes 40% of the production of the world and 60% of the raw material. Evidently, there is great waste." How much does the United States contribute in aid to the developing nations? In 1964 they gave 3.534 billion dollars. Not a ... small amount, but considering a "GNP" of 671 billion dollars (1966), this is

barely 0.5%! The same thing can be said of the other rich countries of Europe and of the "rich" in the poor countries.

We have become the rich bad man. Lazarus has become the 60% of the world population. ... Lazarus is huddled under our table and he must be satisfied with the crumbs that fall off. Still, the conscience of the rich countries and of the rich in the poor countries is soothed when they give half a cent, a thousandth of their GNP or family income to those that suffer hunger.

"The covetousness of the rich countries" has been called the greatest sin of our times together with the covetousness of the rich. However, it is still worse that the rich nations and the wealthy have no remorse because of this sin that Christ has condemned so severely in the Gospel, placing the "rich man" in the parable in hell without even judging him. ...

What did the Lord condemn in this rich man? Ignoring Lazarus' hunger. He did not see him. He did not feed him. That is all. He did not exploit him. He did not do anything positively evil. He just ignored him. Because of this, Christ placed him in hell. This is frightening. This is enough to make us tremble.

This is not a parable against the rich, but against the evil rich. ... Those that enjoy life, ... and are not concerned about others. ... Those that forget that helping the poor is an obligation that God imposes with riches, that they are the intermediaries between Him and the poor. ... The parable teaches us that it is a serious thing to be wealthy, for eternal life is in play. Both rich nations and individuals will be judged by it if they do not identify with the poor and needy (Ps XXXX,2; Mt XXV, 35, ff.).

We are living this parable. As we face the problem of hunger in the "Third World," the Christian Western World has accused God: "In the desert of this world there is not enough bread for all," ... forgetting all of the resources that the Creator has provided for all in Mother Earth. ... Christian nations have begun to teach the pagans methods of birth control. They have encouraged abortions. ...

The poor are not loved. They are not loved by those who boast of the name of Him who said: "I have compassion of the crowd because they have nothing to eat." We are giving a "countertestimony" about Christ" to the poor and to the pagan people. It is possible that as Christians we are sensitive to personal sins ... but insensitive to the sins of society, the sins of envy and avarice. ...

The Church and Hunger in Today's World

While FAO in its twenty years of intense activity has distinguished itself in its outstanding campaign against hunger, the Church is doing all that is within its power to awaken the moral conscience of

Christians and of all men of good will concerning their duty to cooperate with such a program. ...

The Church is a presence of Christ in the world. ... It repeats Christ's command to its children: "Gather what is left so that nothing may be lost." Our Lord, in whose hands the power of creation was evident, used them as a poor man. ... With the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves Christ wanted to appear as God. With the command to gather the leftovers He wanted to appear as man, a poor Palestinian man. ...

Before the hungry people of earth ... the Church repeats to the rich ... Christ's words: "Gather what is left to help the poor." There should be less public and private waste. There should be less spending for pride, fewer arms and more help to developing nations.

What is the duty of Catholics before the dramatic problem of hunger in the world? The Second Vatican Council indicates it: "The Council, conscious of the many hungry in the world, urges all, as individuals and authorities, so that heeding that recommendation of the Fathers they may feed the hungry, for not doing this, you kill Him. Each one must help according to his possibilities putting his wealth on the line, above all, helping men and nations with the means that will make them prosper" (CIM n. 69).

It really is not so important to help people with goods of immediate use ... as to help them create the economic means and technical knowledge that will permit them to assure themselves of the development and feeding of their populations. ... The problem is so big that it must be solved by national or international organizations. ... Because of this in several European countries and in the United States national organizations have been formed to provide social and technical aid to developing nations. (He lists Catholic societies that do this). ...

The Council wishes to develop action with the Separated brethren. It considers timely the creation of a worldwide organism of the Church, so that all Western Christianity may follow the way of charity, that there may be enough bread at the table of humanity (cf. DE n. 12; CIM ns. 83-90). ...

Pope Paul VI recently published a new Encyclical "Populorum Progressio," in which he individualizes in the framework of international community the problem of the underdevelopment of the countries of the Third World. The Encyclical contains important affirmations. The most outstanding are the following:

- 1) The social problem is a worldwide problem. ... The problem of justice must be considered in international dimensions.
- 2) Development must not be understood materialistically, ... but humanly, this is, a promotion of all men and all man.

3) The problems suffered today by developing people are ... the fruit of injustices brought about by abuses of Colonialism and unbridled Liberalism.

4) The goods of the Earth are destined to all men and all have a right to enjoy them as well as the advantages of civilization. ... This means that the rights of private property are not unconditional and absolute. The overabundance from rich countries must be given to poor countries.

5) Development does not come spontaneously. It is the result of a worldwide program that must move all rich nations to help the poorer nations.

6) Development is the new name of "Peace." ... To abolish hunger means to abolish the deepest cause of war. ...

The Encyclical is a challenge against envy. It places the Church at the head of human progress. If the Church's action for peace has already taken the flag of pacifism away from the communists, the Encyclical takes away from them and others the flag of progress. ...

We Catholics will be at peace with our conscience as we transmit the challenge to future generations ... towards the world of misery and hunger. Then we shall see the miracle of the "multiplication of the loaves" renewed and the world of the poor and the hungry will recognize Christ as the King and Saviour of the people (cf. Jn VI,15), because in Him, with Him and through Him it will find the solutions it is waiting for: liberty without demagogy, justice without tyranny, love without treason, brotherhood without reservations and discriminations.

The first Christians represented the Eucharist in the catacombs with the double image of the fish together with baskets of bread. They understood Jesus to be Bread and Fish. If He multiplied the loaves in the desert in order to satisfy the physical hunger of the multitude, in the Eucharist He gives Himself to satisfy the spiritual hunger; and also to teach His own to "give and give themselves" for others.

III. TWELFTH SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST

This is Pamio's last sermon to be considered in this study. In this sermon, which is based on Luke 10:23-27, he brings forth the social implications of the parable of the Good Samaritan. The English abbreviated version is as follows:³

³Ibid., pp. 389-397.

Today's Gospel is like a symphony. It opens with the marvelous prelude: "Blessed are the eyes that see that which you are seeing." It develops in the dramatic parable of the Good Samaritan: "A man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho." It closes in the synthesis of love: "Go and do likewise."

Love Your Neighbor as Yourself

It is important to note that the two times that the Doctor of the Law asks Our Lord concerning the greatest commandment of the Law, our Lord always refers to His Incarnation (Lk X,23 and Mt XXII, 45-46). This reminds us that God "so loved the world, He gave His only son ..." (Jn III, 16). ... It reminds us that in Christ we love a God who "was made flesh," that God and Christ are the same thing. ... No man is free from the affluence of Christ, for He is "the Light that shines on every man that comes into this world" (Jn I,9). He has become man and has identified Himself with humanity once and for all.

Against this background ... Jesus answers: "You have answered well," quoting that which is in the law: "Love the Lord your God ... and your neighbor as yourself."

"Love the Lord ..." because God is the Supreme Good of your heart, ... "in Him we live, move and exist (Ac XVII,28). Love is ... the first duty of man because "God is love; and he who remains in love, remains in God" (1 Jn IV,16).

Love to God is bound to love for humanity, for this is the measure of your love to God. ... Love to God achieves its greatest manifestation in brotherly love. ... The Majesty of God is hidden behind humanity. ...

Jesus joins the two ... sentences found in the Old Testament: "The second is like the first" (Mt XXII,39), "No commandment is greater than these" (Mk XII,31). All of the novelty of Christianity is found in this little word "like." ... Love your neighbor because of the love you have to God. Love mankind because God became man.

From the moment that God became man He is in every man. ... This is the terrible thing about the Incarnation. ... The two commandments made one by Christ form the "new commandment" and "His commandment" (Jn XIII,34). ... "I truly tell you that inasmuch as you did it to the least of these, my brethren, you did it unto Me" (Mt XXV,40).

"Who Is my Neighbor?"

Jesus not only unifies both commandments into one, He also universalizes it. The Doctor of the Law could not understand the inclusion of strangers, heretics and enemies in the precept of love. ... Then Jesus ... determined the idea of the neighbor with the parable of the Good Samaritan.

"A man went down ... from Jerusalem to Jericho. He fell in the hands of bandits who robbed and hurt him, leaving him half dead on the ground." This is the tragic itinerary of humanity that ... began to descend in social relations until it became "mere matter" ... and was left wounded by thieves set loose by envy, misery, hunger and illness.

"A priest passed by, ... then a levite, ... and neither of them stopped." ... This parable has been called the most "anticlerical" in the Gospel. ... These two members of the clergy did not hurt the traveler, neither did they throw him at the side of the road. The only thing they did was to see him and "pass by," and both were condemned.

"But a Samaritan traveler approached ... and he was moved to compassion." A Samaritan ... helped the poor wounded man; one who belonged to a race considered schismatic and bastard by the Jews, who because of this could not be considered to be a neighbor. This Samaritan helped the wounded man in a way in which the priest and the levite did not help him. ... He did not consider himself to be free of this duty of love until he was sure that this neighbor was in good hands. ... He wrote off his trip. He used his time and means to care for a complete stranger as a brother.

This Samaritan was accepted by our Lord because "he loved his neighbor as himself" and in his neighbor he loved God. With this Jesus says that a priest, a deacon, a religious Catholic without charity is worth less than a Protestant, a Muslim or a Buddhist with charity. ...

The hero of this parable ... is a heretic, a stranger, a person that was hated by the Jews. ... The closer man comes to man, the closer he comes to God. The Gospels even manifest a priority for love to men above love to God: "If you take your offering to the altar, and there you remember that your brother has something against you, leave your offering before the altar and go first to make peace with your brother, then return to present your offering" (Mt V,24). ...

After telling the parable, Jesus answers the second question of the Doctor of the Law emphasizing it: "Which of these three do you suppose was the neighbor of the man who fell in the hands of thieves? The Doctor answered correctly: the Samaritan is the neighbor ... because he treated him as a neighbor and assisted him as a brother. ... Then Christ told him: "Go and do likewise," for it is good to know and preach the law, but this is not enough to "possess eternal life." It is necessary to fulfill it.

When Jesus finished the parable the principle of universal brotherhood was affirmed and racial discrimination was condemned. ... Christianity is the negation of racism and condemns it as inhuman and as antichristian. There is only one God, the Father of all. All men are His children, and brothers among themselves. Racism ... is the radical negation of love, for "there is no longer Jew nor Greek, slave nor free" (Gt III,28; Co III, 11).

In our times unjust social conditions prevail. These are hard and charged with conflicts. There still are "hurt" people that suffer because of hunger and illness on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. Almost everywhere there are people that are less than proletarians. These increase with the rhythm of the great cities. There are homes where misery reigns and there is insufficient food. Families that are crowded in unhealthy garrets, in huts in the fields, where human dignity is degraded.

The "wounded man" of Jericho has become legion. At other times he was far away, overseas. ... Now he is near, because the world has been reduced with the ease of communication. ... As we stated some weeks back, we now know that 60% of humanity is very -hungry and ill.

Western Christian civilization passed near Afro-Asian peoples. It gave them progress in order to be able to exploit them with less mercy. ... Europe sent technical know-how, ... leaving them in a vulnerable economic situation and in spiritual indigence. ... Materialism has drowned them, and now we harvest hate and scorn.

Communism passed by the side of those wounded by colonialism and liberalism. It presented itself as the Good Samaritan of the oppressed. It knew how to interpret and exasperate the sense of wounded dignity, but it did not know how to put oil into the wounds of injustice. Marxism has remembered that man has a body and material needs, ... that he hungers. ... This is the lesson Marxism has taught bourgeois capitalism and selfish Christians who are in business, ... who preached the Gospel to workers in their factories and then paid them miserable wages. However, Marxism's lesson ends there. It commits the mistake of thinking too much about the body until ... it kills the spirit. ... This is a more serious crime than that committed by anyone who kills the body. The wounded was left by the roadside in a worse condition than before.

Without any doubt Christ is the Good Samaritan of humanity. He descended from heaven to earth. With His incarnation He brought to Himself sin-smitten humanity. He put in their wounds the oil and the wine of Redemption. He placed bandages on them, covering them with His love until He "gave Himself for us." He trusted the wounded to the Church to take His place and care for them. Then He returned to His Father, promising to return and settle accounts.

Our Lord ... breaks all barriers among peoples and social groups to tell us: "Your neighbor is anyone who needs your help. He is anyone that comes to you with a need. Is there someone in need? Help him." When He returns to settle accounts He will say: "Inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of my brethren, you did it unto me" (Mt XXV). ... We are brothers among ourselves, because Christ has made us His brothers and sisters, children of His Father. ... We shall be judged on the basis of this commandment of love at the end of time: "For I was hungry, and you fed me ... inherit the Kingdom that is prepared for you

since the foundation of the world ..." (Mt XXV,34-40). This commandment of love and aid to anyone in need is the "new commandment" (1 Jn II,8), "new" in essence, everywhere and allways. ... "I give you a new commandment: that you may love one another; in order that as I have loved you, you may also love one another. In this they will recognize that you are my disciples, if you love one another" (Jn XIII,34-35).

Christ gathered wounded humanity and entrusted it to the care of the Church. ... This includes all forms of assistance to the needy, beginning with the first Christians who "sold all their goods and placed their price at the feet of the Apostles" (Ac IV,34-35) until the great collections of our days. These are nothing more than concrete translations of the commandment of love that has remained alive and working in the heart of the Church.

The Church ... did not pass by on the other side. Faithful to the teachings and example of its Divine Founder, who indicated that the sign of His mission was the proclamation of the Good News to the poor (Lk VII,22), the Church has never ceased defending the rights of the poor. ... It was always at the side of the "wounded of Jericho" in the person of its Vincent de Pauls, its Cottolenges, its Charles de Foucaults, its Abbés Pierres, its Don Oriones, its missionaries, that ... continue ... dedicating themselves ... to bandage the wounds of all of those who have suffered from poverty, hunger, illness and injustice.

Our Lord teaches us that the great social ills can be cured only by healing first the great moral sickness, lack of love. He teaches us that injustice is not eliminated with mechanized men, but with men divinized by charity. ... This is a must of Christian ethics. The Christian ... will never be satisfied as a passive observer, much less an accomplice of a flagrant and serious injustice. He is not satisfied to remain indifferent before the needs of his brothers, before the calls for help from the "economically weak," before the abuses of an economic theory that places money above social obligations.

Christianity is an incarnate religion. ... It must pass through the neighbor, through a universal charity. Christianity is "a service of love," ... and those that glory in being disciples of Christ must transmit a breath of universal love and create a climate of mutual assistance in a world that lacks so much solidarity. They are an association of men that love each other and that love the world, bypassing all differences in race and culture, class and money. They are an association of brethren that share with others Christ's bread and the bread of their tables.

Vatican II (cf. CIM) has placed the Church in this position of responsibility concerning love and service. ... Our Lord, in the Last Supper, after dramatizing the precept of love in the washing of the feet, said: "If I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, you must also wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that you may do as I have done" (Jn XIII,13-14). Wash the feet, clean

the shoes, means the humble service done to our needy brethren. This is required in our Baptism and in our participation in Communion.

PRAYER: As we participate in the Eucharistic Mystery, in which your Son comes to heal the wounds of our heart, Lord, help us to imitate Him in the world with works of charity and loving service that may indicate the presence of Christ in our midst. Through our Lord Jesus Christ. ... Amen.

APPENDIX K

THE SERMONS OF JESUS MARIA PELLIN

This is the last Appendix in this study. Jesús María Pellín is the last Spanish preacher on social issues whose sermons have been published and are readily available.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JESUS MARIA PELLIN

Jesús María Pellín was a Venezuelan preacher. His parents were of Venecian origin. They arrived in Venezuela from Italy in 1875. He was the sixth child of Juan Bautista Pellín and María Luisa Chiquín. He was born the twenty-second of October, 1892.

Pellín said his first mass May 25, 1918. He was a charismatic preacher. He was sought especially during Easter because of the popularity of his sermons on Christ's Seven Last Words on the Cross. He knew how to channel public opinion through the roads of social and political peace. He preached on justice, respect of the weak by the strong, family life and understanding and respect for the adversaries.

Pellín lived with the poor and destitute. In spite of this he constantly sought to broaden his horizons and understanding of the world around him. His library is said to have had 12,000 volumes. He died the twentieth of November, 1969, when he was seventy-seven years old.¹ It is significant that he became such an outstanding Spanish preacher, considering that this was not the language of his parents.

¹Jesús María Pellín, *Testimonio* (Caracas: Revista Lor, 1970), pp. 3-15.

II. SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN VENEZUELA

Oil rich Venezuela cannot be considered to be one of the poorer countries in the world, much less in Latin-America. However, this does not mean that poverty does not exist in Venezuela, just like it cannot be said that poverty does not exist in the United States. These issues are faced in his sermons. Besides this, there are problems with communism and religion that are also confronted.

III. SERMON PREACHED ON THE CENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORPHANAGE OF CARACAS

Pellín preached this sermon on the Centennial celebration of the foundation of the Orphanage of Caracas. He used James 1:27 as his text. As noted above, this is one of the social issues of all times. His statements concerning this problem could be very significant. The English translation of this sermon is as follows:²

To provide fathers for the orphans: What a noble and deeply charitable mission! What vibrations are felt in the most sensible cords of patriotism and religion in humanity, when man sees the children being saved, who if they would not find the kind hand that uplifts and saves, would have died of hunger or lived suffering from premature illnesses, imprinted on their faces the shameful stigma, or they would have grown poor and weak, as those plants that are nurtured indoors, lacking the rays of the sun that takes the place of their mother's love, instead of being worthy to religion and country they would be shameful parasites of society.

This was clearly understood by those noble ladies and men who a century ago met in order to establish this Orphanage. Men of the stature of Dr. Agustín Avelledo, mentor of several generations of Venezuelan youth, intellectual father of many of our present scholars. ... He was a patient blind man during the last years of his life. God, in one of those great trials left him sightless in order to strengthen his

²Ibid., pp. 232-238.

soul, and that he might penetrate even more deeply the mysteries of life. He was a new Tobias who preached to all sacrifice, the good and patriotism. Father of orphans, who not being able to see them, touched their faces to "see" if they were robust or thin. He touched the walls of the new home of his children to know their beauty and comfort. ...

Men of the stature of Eduardo Calcaño, eminent orator, whose reputation tells us that he stilled his audience, and whose poems still please us with the sonority of his verses. ...

Men such as that Levite, Luis Felipe Esteves, a soul that was formed for the struggle and the living out of that which is good. With these, the equally noble Carlos Díaz, Luis Alberto Hernández, José Santana, Olegario J. Meneses, Hermógenes Carrera and the noble elder Jesús María Páez. Dr. Aveledo placed upon their shoulders the weight of the Home towards the end of his days. Together with these men the honorable ladies, Mrs. Aveledo, honorable wife of the licentiate, Mrs. Calcaño, Mrs. Urbaneja, Mrs. Meneses, Mrs. Smith, Miss Buroz, Miss Esteller and Miss Calcaño Paniza. All of these, together with the leaders of the Institute, Miss González and Miss Díaz Silva, as beautiful roses, brought joy to the loneliness of the poor orphans. Added to this, the Council of Caracas, this high and noble Caracas, the sultans of Avila, land of Liberators, where charity, yesterday and today, is deeply rooted.

Before entering the Orphanage we notice the thin and humble representation of St. Vincent de Paúl, ... with a child taking his hand and another one in his arms. These poor children represent those that find their refuge in this house who knew not their parents. ... Open the doors, and the first thing you see is the Father of the Country presiding over the orphans of today's Venezuela, in the joy of their moments of recreation, in the meditation of their studies and in the enchantment of prayer. In his accute and strong voice he seems to tell them: *The glory of man is found only in being good and in being of service to others.*

The Father of the Poor and Father Bolívar, Religion and Country, this is the symbol of our orphanage.

A Social Obligation

Unquestionably, the education of the children is the highest mission of social apostleship. ... This apostleship increases with reference to orphans, since besides the teaching mission, a home is provided that warms the heart of those that have been born without feeling the heartbeat of motherly love. A shelter is provided for those that do not have it from an earthly father. That is to say, *they have a family.*

A child is found by the roadside dressed in rags. He cries because he is hungry, complains because he is cold: he is lonely and

helpless. Now he has parents, those that protect him. He has a mother, those of all children. He has brothers, all of us as sons. ... In reality, without the Christian family, the noblest social institutions disappear. *Everything centers around the family.* He who does not have it, or has it disorganized, is condemned, most of the time to remain in ignominy or in the disorder of his passions if he is not saved from the outside.

Besides, the family is the thermometer of the life of the nations. When their moral level rises, they are worth much more. When it declines, they degenerate. This level rises or declines according to the Christian principles that nourish the families. ...

In these orphanages children receive holy lessons. They feel the sweet perfume of an environment of a Christian mother. Here they find the healthy formation of their souls. After fifteen or twenty years of breathing the fresh air of religion and patriotism, ... they go out prepared for the battle, protected against temptation, ready to carry the burden of great duties and strong responsibilities in society. Because of this, ... the Catholic Church ... has sponsored and founded many of these institutions.

A Patriotic Obligation

This is not only a social, but also a patriotic obligation. Not only because it saves another unit for the country, but also because strong men are needed. Citizens acquainted with sacrifices, courageous and energetic patriots. It is necessary to store energies for the environment of peace in our society. We must increase knowledge for a perfect union. We must feel deeply the need of loving the country correctly. It is also necessary to distinguish between chauvinism -the savage howls against constituted order or jingoism that hides deep miseries or unhealthy passion-, and true patriotism, a sacrificing for the great causes of the nation. This formation is not provided by law, wisdom, oratory of philosophy. It comes from the lips of the mother or the teacher. The first and most important lessons are learned here. The poor orphans who knew no father, and who without outside help would not have teachers, Where would they receive this knowledge of the nation? In these homes that have a heart.

A Religious Obligation

We are children of a common Father: God. We were redeemed with the same blood, that of our Lord Jesus Christ. ... From Calvary's hill we have the same rights, pray the same prayer: *Our Father which art in heaven.* Thus, we are brothers, united with this most perfect bond of brotherhood, that taught by the Son of God. As brothers we must want for all the same good and inheritance.

We call these disinherited, because they have no one to brighten their minds. Let us provide them with good teachers that may teach

them to read, not ...

"Those infamous and sinister books
Golden cups that amidst golden flowers
Generally keep deadly poison."

They must learn to know that which is virtuous and worthy. They must learn to form a conscience for duty and to feel the throbs of the soul in sacrifice, in the love of God. Where can they learn this? In this home, where the orphan may learn that his pitiful condition has a comfort, because there is a religion that tells us of a happy eternity where we can find our earthly parents. Even more, they get to know God, the Father of us all.

How great it is to make God known! Where would the child go if he is turned away from God? What would happen to him if he grows in servility to sin? To try to separate these institutions from religious teaching is to give these children two experiences of loneliness: both earthly and heavenly.

Because of this, to develop orphans in an environment of faith is a work of prayer. It is the work of God. It is absolutely true that the moral life of man is based on this triple foundation: *Religion, Family and Country*. Man, as Mons. Gibler says, belongs to God, to a home and to a nation. Because of this he has duties toward religion, country and family. ...

Orphans, you have mothers here on earth that Christian charity has provided for you and a Mother in heaven, God's Mother, who guides your steps. ...

Holy Patron of this Orphanage, plead for all those who cooperate with it, for those who promote it, for those who are in their graves, and those that still live. Provide peace and perfect happiness upon this earth.

Bring us joy in this day of rejoicing. Let us sing a song of glory and victory, that when our last hour arrives, we may go to the mansion of the redeemed, where those that are good dwell, where the orphan will know his mother, where all will have One Father: Almighty God. Where there will be no more orphans.

IV. THE DIGNITY OF THE LABORER AND HIS WAGES

This appears as a very short sermon. Evidently, only an abstract of it was printed originally. Pellín's text is Deuteronomy 24: 14,15, of which he makes an interesting translation as follows: "Le

entregarás, diariamente su salario, sin dejar que el sol se ponga antes de pagar esa deuda: pues es pobre y lo necesita."³

Even though this sermon could be an abstract in its published form, there still are repetitions and other aspects that could be eliminated. Because of this, the following is an abbreviation of the English translation by this researcher of this sermon:⁴

There could be a worker that is not interested in the appreciation of his boss, only in material gain, but this is not common. Many more workers appreciate more being treated well and enjoying the respect of their dignity. The greatest work of the Church has been done in this field. It has been its mission to dignify the laborer and to make him feel his worth before God, to teach the employers the respect due the employees because of being also children of God who deserve the same rights they enjoy.

Some ... say that "Christianity has not made the people Christian in twenty centuries, and during five centuries of fundamentally capitalistic life in Christian countries Christian ethics have not existed." This is untrue from every point of view. It is true that those so called Catholics have set aside the teachings of the Holy Gospel, but they ... have not been able to stop the thrust of the Church that has called them to respect justice and the dignity of the worker.

Only those that have been blinded by sectarianism can ignore these conquests that have been made by twenty centuries of Christianity. The Church has taught us that:

- 1) The laborer has a right to a wage sufficient for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children.
- 2) Nobody should be deprived of that which others have in greater amount than their need.
- 3) Every man must own property.
- 4) The dignity of the laborer must be respected regardless of sex. A child must not bear heavy burdens. He must be prepared to become useful ... when he is older. ...

If because of human malice that which is to be desired in the first three points has not been achieved, there have been substantial reforms concerning the dignity of the laborer. "The unhappiness of

³Ibid., p. 275.

⁴Ibid., pp. 275-277.

working classes comes more from unfair wages than from their being considered as inferior in society. The Catholic employer must not only guarantee his workers decent social and economic conditions, but encourage in them the sense of personal dignity." This is followed by a request that every worker may become a proprietor, at least of his own dwelling. These agreements were taken by the International Assembly of the Union of Catholic Employers. This Union ... that has existed for almost a quarter of a century proves the interest of the Church in these matters.

Liberalism enslaves the workers. Communism does not give them bread, only rocks kneaded with indignities. Socialism, with all its boasting, does not uplift the laborer. Only the Church promotes their material good and uplifts their dignity.

If the world is not as Christian as it should be, this is because of human malice. The Gospel warns that the world would be the enemy of the Church because She does not belong to it. It also declares that there will always be poor. Christian essence is not in solving material problems, but in taking souls to Heaven through the road of spiritual life. Well understood, respect for justice and the practice of charity are part of that Christian effort.

That which has returned dignity to the worker who struggles against the empire of passion and social chaos has been the Catholic Church.

V. CAPITALISM, COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM

This sermon fills only three pages of this anthology of the sermons of Pellín. No Biblical text is quoted as the source of this sermon, but rather a thought from Pope Pius XII:⁵ "Only Christ has the solution for the great problems that torment humanity today." The English version of the abbreviation of this sermon is as follows:⁶

Three forces struggle today to solve the social problems: capitalism, communism and socialism. None of them can solve them, for they are based on materialism. "The solution is found in Christianity alone. This offers dignity and protection to mankind upon earth, as God's creature, and leads it to its immortal end," as stated by Cardijn.

Russia plants communism, but it is fertilized by those who make the people miserable. This answers the question, How can such an

⁵Ibid., p. 294.

⁶Ibid., pp. 294-296.

inhuman doctrine attract so many millions, have so many martyrs? The misery of millions of workers oppressed by capitalism makes of communism a messianism.

All is for the disgrace of the laborer. If that "Messiah" arrives, they would be in worse condition than under the most absolute capitalism. This system at least allows the person to defend himself. The other does not.

Let us analyze this. Cardijn has declared that the basis of all social orders is a mystique. Capitalism goes to the primary aim of gain and an immoderate thirst of riches without taking into account human nature.

On the positive side, capitalism has produced great scientific, technical and economic gains, but ... What a great negative effect it has from a human point of view! It changed the face of the earth, took millions out of their homes, sent women to the depths of the mines, made six year old children to work, disintegrated families.

This was the mistake of those that followed the French Revolution. As communism, it also promised all kinds of prosperity to the "citizen." What it did was to intensify the absorbing work of capitalism and to destroy that purported equality, liberty and fraternity.

Cardijn continues saying that "capitalism has been surpassed by that economic order that makes men become automatons; and humanity, denied even the right of thinking for itself, becomes a flock. Communism pretends to be human; but its technique has a cruel mystique just as materialism. It absorbs it all. It wants total and violent suppression of all private property. ... It is the dictatorship of the state. It preaches that religion is the opiate of the people." ...

Can ... communism solve the social problems? We have reported daily ... how the worker who is worst off of all workers is the worker under Russian domination.

"It is not easy to define the position of socialism, for it divides itself like the rainbow. Its technique differs from one country to the other. It is satisfied with being paternalistic towards the working class. People expect everything from the state. It has no doctrine concerning the individual, the family, the destiny of man. Religion is considered to be a private affair."

Only Christianity can offer the solution to the modern social problem. As Cardijn states, it is the person of Christ living within us, the mission He gives us of a lifelong apostleship.

Only when man loves man because of God and sees on others a brother, the social problems that we face will be solved. While human dignity is despised, or excessive love for gain exists, or the all

absorbing Empire of the State, we cannot say that the problems have been solved or the Marxist avalanche has been contained.

Prudent Catholics, Catholic businessmen, Catholic employers must consider these great truths. The laborer must also learn to fulfill his duties, in order that honest employers may not find themselves in the position of having to employ drastic measures upon them. If the employer is commanded to look upon his worker as his brother and companion, the laborer is also equally commanded to consider his employer as his companion and his brother.